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THE PRESENCE AND TREATMENT OF *GRATIA* IN AUGUSTINE'S *SERMONES AD POPULUM* ON THE LITURGICAL FEAST OF PENTECOST: DO ANTI-DONATIST AND ANTI-PELAGIAN POLEMICS INFLUENCE AUGUSTINE'S PREACHING?

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La présence et le traitement de la grâce dans les* Sermones ad populum *de saint Augustin lors de la fête liturgique de Pentecôte : les polémiques antidonatistes et antipélagiennes ont-elles influencé les prêches de saint Augustin ?

Cette contribution analyse la présence et le traitement spécifique de la Grâce dans les Sermones ad populum *que saint Augustin a donné à l'occasion de la fête liturgique de Pentecôte. Treize sermons sont liés à cette célébration : ss. 29, 29A, 29B, 266-272, 272A, 272B, 378 ; aucun n'avait jusqu'ici été étudié en détail et tous n'avaient pas été pris en compte. Par ailleurs, aucune attention n'a jamais été accordée, dans les sermons liturgiques en général, au thème de la grâce. Il est apparu intéressant de voir si, et comment, saint Augustin aborde le thème de la grâce dans le cas particulier des sermons liturgiques et jusqu'à quel point il le traite différemment dans ses autres écrits, notamment ceux à l'encontre des idées de Pélage.* [La Rédaction]

This contribution studies the presence and specific treatment of *gratia* in Augustine's *sermones ad populum* delivered on the liturgical feast of Pentecost. Thirteen *sermones* are linked to the celebration of Pentecost: *ss*. 29, 29A, 29B, 266-272, 272A, 272B, 378. Generally speaking, Augustine's Pentecost homilies have not been studied in significant detail, and not all thirteen are taken into consideration.[1]

While the sermons in question have been studied for the information they provide concerning the liturgical situation at the beginning of the 5th century and Augustine's understanding of the liturgy and the liturgical feasts,[2] little if any attention has been paid to the presence of the theme of grace in the liturgical sermons in general. Two distinct research questions can be posed at this juncture, for which the Pentecost *sermones* will function as case studies. First, does Augustine touch on the topic of grace within these specifically pastoral and liturgical *sermones*, and to what extent is his treatment thereof akin to or different from his systematic treatises on grace, especially his anti-Pelagian writings. Is there a difference in the treatment of grace in the anti-Pelagian writings (which are systematic and polemic in nature) and the *sermones* (which have a pastoral and exhortative motivation)? This question is not illogical, since the Spirit plays a role in Augustine's doctrine of grace, e.g. to express that *dilectio*/*caritas* (cf. Gal 5, 6 and Rom 5, 5), understanding, *fides*, the correct *uoluntas*, support in the battle against *concupiscentia carnis*, etc. are given by God to mankind as a gift of grace.

1. For an extensive bibliography on Augustine's Pentecost sermons and his theology of Pentecost, see below, *Addendum* I.
2. Cf. M. Klöckener, *Die Bedeutung der neu entdeckten Augustinus-Predigten (Sermones Dolbeau) für die liturgiegeschichtliche Forschung*, in G. Madec (ed.), *Augustin prédicateur (395-411) (Actes du Colloque international de Chantilly, 5-6 septembre 1996)* (coll. ÉAug., Série Antiquité, 159), Paris, 1998, pp. 129-170, pp. 141; 152. W. Roetzer, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgie-geschichtliche Quelle*, München, 1930, pp. 26-27. V. Saxer (ed., trad., notes), *Saint Augustin. L'année liturgique* (Les Pères dans la Foi), Paris, Desclée De Brouwer, 1980, pp. 21-23. G. C. Willis, *St. Augustine's Lectionary* (Alcuin Club Collection; 44), London, S.P.C.K., 1962, p. 29, pp. 68-69.

M. Hoondert subdivides six Pentecost sermons (*ss.* 267-271, *s.* 272B) into two groups according to their primary topics.[3] The theme of the first group (*ss.* 267, 268, 269, 271) is the unity of the Church. According to him it is possible that these homilies come from the period between 400 and 412 when Augustine was reacting against the perceived Donatists' threat to the said ecclesial unity. The second group (*ss.* 270, 272B) insists that the law can only be fulfilled through grace. This group dates from the time at which Augustine was preoccupied with the Pelagians. This brings us to the second research question: is this subdivision of the Pentecost homilies into an anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian group correct and consequently, does a given controversy have an observable influence on the content and treatment of *gratia* in the non-controversial liturgical Pentecost *sermones*, and if so how does it work?

This article opens with a thematic analysis of the Pentecost *sermones*, with special attention to the presence of grace in these sermons. First we present the *sermones* 29, 29A, 29B & 272, 272A which contain no explicit references to the liturgical celebration of Pentecost, and subsequently we analyse *sermones* 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272B which explicitly refer to this feast. The second part firstly analyses in more detail the way in which grace is present in the said *sermones* and studies the possible links with Augustine's anti-Pelagian treatment of this topic. Secondly, Hoondert's study will be evaluated. Enclosed in *addenda* are an overview of the discussion of the chronology of each of the Pentecost *sermones* and an overview of the presence of the word 'Pentecost' throughout Augustine's writings.

Thematic overview

Sermones without explicit reference to Pentecost: *Sermones* 29, 29A, 29B & 272, 272A

Sermones 29, 29A, 29B – traditionally situated during the vigil of Pentecost – explain Ps 118, 1 (117, 1): *Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus est, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius*.[4]

Augustine begins each of these three sermons by explaining the double meaning of *confessio* and *confiteri*, and stressing that they have not only to do with sin,[5] but mean both to praise and to confess.[6] *Confessio aut laudantis est, aut paenitentis*.[7] Augustine argues that Christ is also found as the subject of the verb *confiteri*.[8] *Sed confessor iste, laudator est, non peccator*.[9] Since Christ was without sin,[10] his *confessio* cannot have been a confession of sin. Sir 39, 15-16 speaks about *confessio*, because God's works are good, thus this *confessio* has to be praise and not confession of sins.[11] The *misericordia* of Ps 118, 1 stands in the first instance for God's forgiving nature. In this sense, praise of God's goodness always goes hand in hand with praise for his mercifulness: the confession of our own sins and the veneration of a merciful God who forgives our sins. We accuse ourselves of wickedness in the hope that God will deal with us according to his *misericordia*. We praise his *misericordia* by recalling our own wickedness.[12] Precisely because God is good, we should dare to confess our sins to him.[13]

The preacher explains God's goodness, described in Ps 118, 1. All goodness comes from God (cf. Gn 1, 31). Good things are not good of themselves, they are good because God made them. God is good in himself since no other good created him. God is not good to himself alone, but also to us.[14] Human beings are good on account of God and evil on account of themselves.[15] Augustine denies any

3. M. Hoondert, *Les sermons de saint Augustin pour le jour de la Pentecôte*, in *Augustiniana*, 46/3-4, 1996, pp. 291-310.
4. For *ss.* 29 and 29A see: A. Dupont, *Sermones 29 and 29A on Ps. 117, 1 (118, 1). Two Early Carthaginian Sermones on the Meaning of Confessio during the Vigil of Pentecost?*, in J.A. Van den Berg, A. Kotzé, T. Nicklas, M. Scopello (eds), *In Search of Truth. Augustine, Manichaeism and other Gnosticism. Studies for Johannes van Oort at Sixty* (Nag Hammadi and Manichean Studies, 74), Leiden, Brill, 2011, pp. 75-95.
5. *s.* 29, 2. CCL 41 p. 373. At the beginning of *s.* 29, Augustine points out that some believers immediately beat their breasts when they hear the word *confessio* in the Scriptures thinking it only refers to sin.
6. *ss.* 29, 2; 29A, 1; 29B, 1. For the semantic history of the terms *confessio* and *confiteri*, word statistics and range of meanings in Augustine, profane usage, ecclesial usage (confession of faith, admission of sins, praise of God) and a recent bibliography see: C. Mayer, *Confessio, confiteri*, in C. Mayer, K.H. Chelius (ed.), *Augustinus-Lexikon*, 1, 7/8, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 1994, pp. 1122-1134.
Ps 118, 1 (117, 1) is, according to CAG, quoted ca. 40 times and mentioned ca. 18 times in different places/passages, of which 30 quotes and 12 occurrences in different passages in *ss*. 29, 29A and 29B. It is even more striking that the verse is only referred to in four writings (*Contra Adimantum* 13 [392]; *Confessiones* 5, 17; 11, 1 [397-400]; *Enarratio in Psalmum* 117, 2; 117, 23 [date uncertain]; *s*. 68, 2 [between 425 and 430]), and – besides the *Confessiones* – only on two other occasions in the context of the double meaning of *confessio/confiteri*: *Enarratio in Psalmum* 117, 2 and *s*. 68, 2.
7. *s.* 29, 2. CCL 41 p. 373. *s.* 29, 4. Augustine draws a twofold conclusion with regard to the double meaning of *confiteri* and *confessio*: *Si laudare uis, quid securius laudas quam bonum? Si laudare uis, si confessionem laudis habere uis, quid securius laudas quam bonum? Si peccata tua confiteri uis, cui tutius quam bono?* CCL 41 p. 375.
8. *ss.* 29, 2; 29B, 2. "I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent and have revealed them to infants" (Mt 11, 25; Lk 10, 21).
9. *s.* 29, 2. CCL 41 p. 374.
10. 1Peter 2, 22; Jn 14, 30.
11. *s.* 29B, 2.
12. *s.* 29A, 1.
13. *s.* 29B, 1.
14. *s.* 29, 1.
15. *s.* 29, 4. *s.* 29B, 6-7. "Praise God for your good deeds, accuse yourself for your sins. If you sin, you are doing it yourself. If you do something good, it is God's grace". *s.* 29B, 6: "When blasphemers do something good, they want to be praised for it themselves; when

suggestion that God is unjust or that he is responsible for the creation of evil creatures.[16] Augustine appeals to his listeners to strive after goodness themselves.[17] People persist in their wickedness, but God never ceases to invite them to return to him. We even receive much *solacia* from God *in pressura*.[18] God is *misericors*, because we are able to transform the punishment due for our sins by transforming ourselves.[19]

Although Augustine emphasises the double meaning of *confessio*, Augustine focuses on the necessity of the confession of sin: the *confessio peccatorum* is *salubris*.[20] A number of psalm verses make clear that one has to accuse oneself of one's sins and not try to make excuses for them, to admit them and not to hide them.[21] Denying your sins is a triumph for the devil, and is a sin.[22] Being good means confessing one's own sins.[23] In order to be good we must hate whatever is evil in ourselves, in other words we must confess our sins with a contrite heart. God hates sin. If we hate in ourselves what God hates, then we bind ourselves to God through our *uoluntas*. Sin, after all, must be punished by God or by ourselves. If we want to prevent God punishing our sins, we have to punish them ourselves, we have to be our own judge.[24] It is only when we are prepared to recognise (*agnoscere*) our sins that God can punish them by knowing them (*cognoscere*) and rectifying them by forgiving them (*ignoscere*).[25]

The very short *sermones* 272 and 272A do not contain references that refer to the liturgical celebration of Pentecost. *Sermo* 272 is a sermon typically preached at Easter, addressed to the newly baptised, in order to explain to them the sacrament of the Eucharist they received for the first time the night before.[26] Such a sermon however could also be preached at Pentecost since Augustine also baptised on this feast when there were too many candidates to be baptised at Easter.[27] Augustine explains the meaning of a sacrament: the bodily form of the sacrament has a spiritual significance. The bread and the cup of the Eucharist refer in this sacramental way to the body and blood of Christ. Augustine compares the making of the bread with the sacrament of baptism his hearers have just received: grinding of grain: exorcism, mixed into dough: baptism, baking: fire of the H. Spirit (in confirmation). "Be what you can see, and receive what you are." With this sentence, and with the emphasis that bread is made from many grains ('one bread') and wine from many grapes ('one vessel'), he emphasises the importance of unity (cf. 1 Cor 10, 17; Acts 4, 32). The Eucharist is the sacrament of unity. He complements it by stating that all who do not receive this sacrament in unity, and in peace, receive it not to their benefit but as a testimony against themselves.[28]

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they do something bad, they want to blame God." J.E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), *Sermons III/11, Newly Discovered Sermons*, (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century; III/11), Hyde Park / New York, New City Press, 1997, p. 67.

16. *s.* 29A, 1. *s.* 29A, 2. Creation is good and human suffering is a punishment and purification. Ps 104, 24 (103, 24) teaches us that God created all things. If God created all things good, then there can be no such thing as evil creatures. God is not unjust. Prov 3, 12 demonstrates that suffering in this present – passing – life is a purification. Ps 39, 11 (38, 12) and Ps 119, 67 (118, 67) add that human suffering is a punishment for sin. If bad things happen to us in spite of our prayers to the contrary, God makes something good of it nonetheless. We may be corrected by pain or suffering, but God's rage does not last forever (Ps 103, 9 [102, 9]), although his *misericordia* is everlasting.
17. *s.* 29, 5. Augustine observes that when people desire something they always want it to be good: a good horse, a good farm, a good home, a good wife, a good pair of boots. Everything people desire has to be good, he notes, with the apparent exception on their own soul. If we desire good things, he argues, then we first have to be what we desire. The possession of good things is of little value if we ourselves are not good, if we ourselves are lost.
18. *s.* 29A, 2. CCL 41 p. 379.
19. *s.* 29A, 2. God's grace corrects those who have a *cor peruersum*.
20. *s.* 29, 3. CCL 41 p. 374. *s.* 29, 4. Augustine makes a distinction between the human and divine administration of justice. Those who confess their sins to other human beings are subject to condemnation because human beings are evil. Those who confess to God are absolved because God is good.
s. 29A, 3. Confession of sins to God differs fundamentally from the human administration of justice, which goes hand in hand with torture. In Augustine's opinion, torture makes little sense. While a person's body may be broken, it is never certain if the said person's conscience has opened itself. Augustine sets his sights here in particular on the difference between human and divine jurisprudence. Those who confess to human beings are subject to punishment. A human prosecutor endeavours to find out the things he does not yet know. God, on the other hand, already knows the things we are unwilling to confess.
s. 29A, 4. The reason we are afraid to confess to a human judge is that he himself is wicked, or at least obliged to apply the law in all its severity. We have no reason to fear when we confess to God, however, *quoniam bonus est, quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius*.
s. 29B, 1. Who confesses to a human judge, will get the capital punishment. Who confesses to God, who knows your 'case' already, will not die.
For Augustine's use of judicial language in his preaching, see: S. Poque, *Le langage symbolique dans la prédication d'Augustin d'Hippone*, Paris, Études Augustiniennes, 1984, pp. 117-192.
21. *s.* 29, 3.6: Ps 141, 3-4 (140, 3-4) and Ps 41, 4 (40, 5).
s. 29A, 4: Ps 32, 5 (31, 5); 51, 3 (50, 5); 51, 9 (50, 11).
s. 29B, 5: Ps 51, 3 (50, 5); 51, 9 (50, 11).
22. *ss.* 29, 3; 29B, 7.
23. *s.* 29, 6.
24. *ss.* 29, 6; 29B, 3-4.
25. *s.* 29A, 4.
26. For the Eucharist as central theme in Easter preaching, see: C.P. Mayer, *Ostern bei Augustinus*, in *Cor unum*, 60, 2002, pp. 1-25, pp. 11-12.
27. *s.* 210, 2 states that baptism can be administered throughout the whole year. V. Saxer, contrary to Chr. Mohrmann and R. Cabié, suggests that *s.* 272 was not held on Pentecost but on Easter because of the specific reference to a solemn administration of baptism (cf. *supra*: practice of baptism on Pentecost). V. Saxer, *L'année liturgique*, *cit.* (n. 2), p. 21, n. 32. R. Cabié, *La Pentecôte. L'évolution de la Cinquantaine pascale au cours des cinq premiers siècles* (Bibliothèque de liturgie), Tournai / Paris, 1965. Ch. Mohrmann, *Sint Augustinus. Preken voor het volk handelende over de Heilige Schrift en het eigene van de tijd* (Monumenta Christiana; 1), Utrecht, Spectrum, 1948. See also *s.* 272 in the chronology addendum.
28. *Estote quod uidetis, et accipite quod estis*. PL 38 cc. 1247-1248. *s.* 272. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), *Sermons III/7 (230-272B). On the Liturgical Seasons* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation

Sermo 272A is even shorter. Christ humbled himself to give us an example of humility. Christ's resurrection and ascension are a miracle, but an even greater miracle is that the world believes this because of the preaching of twelve uneducated fishermen.

Sermones with explicit reference to Pentecost: *Sermones* 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272B

Augustine explicitly indicates Pentecost as the liturgical occasion of these sermons. He calls it the annual celebration (sacred anniversary) of the solemnity of the coming of the Holy Spirit, sent by Christ.[29] The coming of the Spirit is the fulfilment of Christ's promise to send the Spirit.[30] It is the fiftieth day after Easter, the Lord's (passion and) resurrection, i.e. seven weeks.[31] It is also ten days after Ascension, the fortieth day after Easter.[32] Christ sent the H. Spirit after his glorification in his resurrection and ascension.[33] Christ first had to be glorified (Jn 7, 39),[34] Christ first had to leave before the Spirit could come (Jn 16, 7).[35] Augustine explains that the apostles could only receive the Spirit, a spiritual gift, if they stopped thinking in a carnal way, considering Christ as human. For this reason Christ first had to leave.[36]

Augustine combines the expression: 'new wine, new wineskins' (Mk 2, 22) with the assertion of the people who thought that the apostles were drunk at Pentecost because they had drunk too much new wine (Acts 2, 13). The Spirit filled the apostles with new wine, making them into new wineskins (cf. Mk 2, 22). These new wineskins were preaching to old wineskins, who first thought that those Pentecost preachers were drunk (Acts 2, 13). The apostle's preaching of Christ however made them believe, and by believing, they were made fit to receive the Spirit.[37] This newness stands both for grace and for belief in Christ's divinity.

> Being carnal means being old, grace means newness. The more you are renewed for the better, the more you receive what smacks of the truth. The new wine was fermenting, and with the new wine fermenting, the languages of the nations were flowing freely.[38]

> They were old wineskins as long as they were thinking about Christ in a merely human way.[39]

Augustine invites his faithful to be made into wineskins, a process in which they have a part by transcending secular concerns like the martyrs did.[40]

A *Leitmotiv* is Augustine's exegesis of Acts 2, 4: "they began to speak with tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." Augustine reads this verse as: each individual in the cenacle spoke all tongues.

> Did each single person, of those upon whom the Holy Spirit came, speak in a single tongue of all the nations, these speaking one language, and those another, and did

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for the 21st Century; III/7), New Rochelle / New York, New City Press, 1993, p. 301. Cf. J.P. Burns, *The Eucharist as the Foundation of Christian Unity in North African Theology*, in *Augustinian Studies*, 32/1, 2001, pp. 1-23, esp. pp. 13-14.
Augustine describes the interior effect of the Eucharist in *s.* 272 as *fructus spiritualis*: W.A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and spiritualis. A Study in the Sermons of Saint Augustine* (Pontificia Fac. Theol. Sem. S. Mariae ad Lacum, Diss. ad Lauream, 28), Mundelein, 1957, p. 150.

29. *ss.* 266, 2; 267, 1; 268, 1; 269, 1; 270, 1; 271, 1; 272B. Cf. *s.* 378, 1.
30. Cf. Acts 1, 4; Lk 24, 49. *ss.* 266, 2; 267, 1; 269, 1; 270, 1.3; 271, 1; 272B. Cf. *s.* 378, 1.
31. *ss.* 268, 1; 270, 1; 271, 1.
32. *ss.* 267, 3; 268, 4; 270, 3; 271, 1.
33. *s.* 271, 1.
34. *ss.* 267, 1; 271. In *Contra epistulam Manichaei quam uocant Fundamenti* 10, 11, Augustine sees the double glorification of Christ expressed in Jn 7, 39 as linked with the double gift of the H. Spirit by Christ. Augustine observes that Christ gave the H. Spirit two times, on the evening of Easter and on the morning of Pentecost (Jn 20, 22 and Acts 2, 1-4), in *In Iohannis Euangelium Tractatus* 74, 2. Augustine insists it is the same Spirit. "Comment le Seigneur peut-il promettre aux Apôtres, au soir de la Cène, de leur envoyer le Saint-Esprit s'ils aiment et s'ils gardent ses commandements, alors que, selon l'affirmation de l'Apôtre en *Rom*., 5, 5, sans le Saint-Esprit ils ne peuvent ni l'aimer ni garder ses commandements ? Augustin résout la difficulté en expliquant que les Apôtres possédaient déjà le Saint-Esprit, car, argumente-t-il à partir de I *Cor*., 12, 3, c'est par lui qu'ils reconaissaient Jésus comme le Seigneur, par lui aussi que déjà ils l'aimaient et gardaient ses commandements ; mais, ajoute-t-il, ils étaient appelés à le recevoir avec plus d'abondance afin d'aimer davantage leur Maître et à le recevoir en outre visiblement afin de connaître le don que Dieu leur faisait par lui, cf. 1 *Cor* 2, 12." M.-F. Berrouard, *Les deux donations visibles du Saint-Esprit, au soir de Pâques et au matin de la Pentecôte*, in M.-F. Berrouard (introd., trad., notes), *Homélies sur l'Évangile de saint Jean LV-LXXIX* (Bibliothèque augustinienne, Œuvres de saint Augustin, 74A), Paris, Études augustiniennes, 1993, pp. 453-456, p. 454, which summarizes regarding Augustine: M. G. de Durand, *Pentecôte johannique et Pentecôte lucanienne chez certains Pères*, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 79, 1978, pp. 97-126. Cf. F. da Cagliari, *Cristo glorificato datore di Spirito Santo nel pensiero di S. Agostino e di S. Cirillo Alessandrino*, Abbatia S. Mariae Gryptaeferratae (Sardinia), 1961, pp. 73-82. E. Lamirande, *L'annonce de l'unité dans l'universalité. Un aspect de la théologie augustinienne de la Pentecôte*, in *Spiritus – Cahiers de spiritualité missionnaire*, 19, 1964, pp. 157-174, pp. 159-161. J.J. Verhees, *God in beweging. Een onderzoek naar de pneumatologie van Augustinus*, Wageningen, H. Veenman & Zonen n.v., 1968, pp. 39-42.
35. *s.* 267, 1.
36. *s.* 270, 2. For the spiritualisation effect of the Spirit of Pentecost, see: W.A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and spiritualis*, *cit*. (n. 28), pp. 190-191. J.J. Verhees, *God in beweging*, *cit*. (n. 34), pp. 42-48, esp. p. 44.
37. *ss.* 266, 2; 267, 1-2; 272B, 1. Cf. *s.* 267, 1: the new wine comes from heaven and is made by grapes already trodden and glorified. For the *uinum nouus* metaphor, see also: A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale di Gesù Cristo e l'esistenza credente nei Sermones di Agostino* (Patrologia: Beiträge zum Studium der Kirchenväter), Frankfurt am Main, P. Lang, 2010, pp. 294-296.
38. *s.* 267, 2. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 275. *Carnalitas uetustas est, gratia nouitas est. Quantocumque homo in melius fuerit innouatus, tanto amplius capit, quod uerum sapit. Bulliebat mustum, et musto Bulliente linguae gentium profluebant*. PL 38 c. 1230.
39. *s.* 272B, 1. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 304. *Vtres enim ueteres erant, quamdiu carnaliter de Christo sentiebant*. *REAug*, 44, p. 196. Peter's fear of Christ's death belonged to his old wineskin. Cf. *s.* 270, 2: The apostles first had to be spiritual – not believing in Christ as merely human anymore – before being able to receive the Spirit.
40. *s.* 272B, (2)7.

> they somehow or other divide up the languages of all nations between them? Not like that; but each person, one person, was speaking in the languages of all nations. One person was speaking in the tongues of all nations; the unity of the Church in the tongues of all nations.[41]

This is not really what is written in Acts, but it better serves Augustine's purpose. The one Pentecost individual speaking all languages foretold according to him the Church, in which all nations – thus all tongues – are unified. As such, it is a symbol of the unity of the Church, the unity of the Christian faith.[42] "So it is, that just as at that time the languages of all nations in one person indicated the presence of the Holy Spirit, in the same way he is now indicated by the love of the unity of all nations."[43] Today, the same Spirit is given, but nobody speaks all languages, as happened at Pentecost, because what was foreshadowed at Pentecost (a small house with some people speaking all languages) is now fulfilled in the Church which contains all nations. Moreover as members of the Church, in which all languages are found, we can say that all the languages are ours.[44] Augustine gives a second explanation of the fact that nobody today speaks all languages. The Spirit is to the Church like the soul to the human body. The soul gives life to all body parts, which all have different functions but the same life. Augustine doesn't state it explicitly, but the implication is that the same Spirit which at Pentecost gave the capacity to speak all languages is also given today but it works differently.[45]

> The reason, after all, why the Holy Spirit was prepared to demonstrate his presence in the tongues of all nations, was so that those who are included in the unity of the Church which speaks all languages might understand that they have the Holy Spirit.[46]

The Spirit, like the soul in the human body, brings unity (cf. Eph 4, 4: "one body and one spirit"). "The functions of the different parts vary, but the unity of the spirit coordinates them all."[47] Augustine further elaborates this comparison in an anti-heretical perspective: like the soul does not follow an amputated body part, heretics are without the Spirit.[48] A cut off body part retains its shape, but not its life. Schismatics also have the sacraments, baptism, and the creed, but not the Spirit.[49] Augustine emphasises that the Spirit at Pentecost manifested his presence in all tongues to make clear that separated from that unity of all nations in the Church nobody – even those who are baptised – can have the Spirit. All who hate the grace of peace, do not hold to unity, and do not share this gift of the Spirit.[50] Only by being established in this unity of the Church, which speaks all languages – not by breaking away in schism – can one have the Spirit.[51]

Unity is a key concept in the Pentecost sermons.[52] Besides the image of one person speaking all languages (cf. *supra*) and Augustine's exegesis of the number one (cf. *infra*), he also uses other images. The creation of all creatures out of the one earth, of all human beings from one person and of Christ from one person, the Virgin Mary (whose integrity also represents unity) show the importance of unity.[53]

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41. *s.* 268, 1. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 278. *Quid ergo, singuli in quos uenit Spiritus sanctus, singulis linguis omnium gentium sunt locuti, illi alia lingua, et illi alia, et quasi diuiserunt inter se linguas omnium gentium? Non sic: sed unusquisque homo, unus homo linguis omnium gentium loquebatur. Loquebatur unus homo linguis omnium gentium: unitas ecclesiae in linguis omnium gentium*. PL 38 c. 1232.
42. *ss.* 266, 1; 267, 1; 268, 1; 269, 1; 270, 6; 271. Cf. *infra s.* 271: the Holy Spirit unified the languages, a diversity caused as punishment for the tower of Babel. The presence of all languages at Pentecost is also mentioned in *ss*. 162A, 11; 175, 3. Cf. A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37), pp. 280-282. G. Ferraro, *Lo Spirito Santo nei Discorsi di sant'Agostino per i tempi liturgici*, in *Teresianum*, 55, 2004, pp. 3-36 & 325-363, pp. 355-356: the disciples spoke several languages at Pentecost.
43. *s.* 269, 2. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 285. *Quamobrem sicut tunc indicabant adesse Spiritum sanctum in uno homine linguae omnium gentium; sic eum nunc caritas indicat unitatis omnium gentium*. PL 38 c. 1236.
44. *ss.* 267, 3; 269, 1-2.
45. *s.* 276, 4.
46. *s.* 268, 2. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 278. *Ideo enim Spiritus sanctus in omnium linguis gentium se demonstrare dignatus est, ut ille se intellegat habere Spiritum sanctum, qui in unitate ecclesiae continetur, quae linguis omnibus loquitur*. PL 38 c. 1232.
47. *s.* 268, 2. *Officia membrorum dispartita sunt, sed unus spiritus continet omnia*. PL 38 c. 1232. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 279. Augustine referes here to soul with the term: *spiritus humanus*, see also: W.A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and spiritualis*, *cit*. (n. 28), pp. 61; 63.
48. *s.* 276, 4.
49. *s.* 268, 2.
50. *ss.* 269, 2; 270.
51. *s.* 271. Cf. J.P. Burns, *Christ and the Holy Spirit in Augustine's Theology of Baptism*, in J. McWilliam (ed.), *Augustine. From Rhetor to Theologian*, Waterloo Ont., 1992, pp. 161-171. V. Grossi, *Baptismus*, in C. Mayer (ed.), K.H. Chelius (red.), *Augustinus-Lexikon* I, 3/4, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 1990, pp. 583-591. M.A. Tilley, *Baptism*, in A.D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages. An Encyclopedia*, Grand Rapids / Cambridge, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999, pp. 84-92.
52. "Pour lui, la Pentecôte est une vivante parabole : l'unité et l'universalité de l'Église, ses deux principaux attributs, sont ici comme réalisés en acte. Les éléments du genre humain, les peuples sont tout à coup unis les uns aux autres, organisés en un seul Tout, grâce à l'Église que suranime l'Esprit-Saint." "Tout entière présente en chaque apôtre, et même en chaque fidèle, si les fonctions y sont diverses, l'Esprit les unifie toutes. Il y empêche les schismes comme les erreurs." M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur* (Théologie, 7), Paris, Aubier, 1946, p. 427; p. 428. For Augustine's (anti-Donatist) stress on the centrality of unity in the Pentecost event, of the unity of the Church as a *proprium opus* of the Holy Spirit, see also: A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37), pp. 276-292. E. Lamirande, *L'annonce de l'unité dans l'universalité*, *cit*. (n. 34). Id., *Ecclesia*, in C. Mayer, K. H. Chelius (red.), *Augustinus-Lexikon*, I, 5/6, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 2001, cc. 687-720, cc. 697-698; 706-707. T. Mariucci, *La lingua dello Spirito. Il vincolo cristiano dell'unità-carità*, in Id., *Meditazioni agostiniane. Antologia di studi e testi* (Collana Itinerari Spirituali. Nuova Serie), Rome, Edizioni Dehoniane, 1991, pp. 31-44. T. J. van Bavel, *Church*, in A.D. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages*, *cit*. (n. 51), pp. 169-176, pp. 171-172. J.J. Verhees, *God in beweging*, *cit*. (n. 34), pp. 90-98; pp. 58-60: Pentecost *sermones*.
53. *s.* 268, 3. Cf. *supra*: *s.* 272, in which Augustine explains that the Eucharistic bread and wine symbolise unity, that the eucharist is the sacrament of unity.

The Pentecost event – which expresses according to Augustine the unity of all nations in the Church, and outside of which one does not have the Spirit – implies also on a second level the latter claim. The apostles received the Spirit at that moment without baptism and without the laying on of hands. By distinguishing baptism and the gift of the Spirit, Augustine states that baptism is not sufficient, but that it needs to be a baptism within the catholic unity.[54] Augustine gives several other examples which illustrate this distinction. The deacon Philip baptised converts in Samaria, who received the Spirit afterwards when the apostles laid hands on them (Acts 8, 14-17). Cornelius and his household received the Spirit while listening to Peter, before their baptism (Acts 10, 44-48) and without the laying on of the hands. The eunuch baptised by Philip received the Spirit the moment he was baptised, without the laying on of the hands (Acts 8, 26-29).[55] These examples indicate that the Spirit is only to be found in the ecclesial unity – consequently heretics and schismatics lack the Spirit –,[56] and also that baptism and the gift of the Spirit should only be attributed to divine grace and not to human pride.[57] Augustine cites the same examples at length – illustrating that the Spirit is sometimes given without human ministers – to indicate that the Spirit is not given by the human ministers.[58] This was the error of Simon, who did not understand the nature of grace, and offered money, as if it was something human. The gift of God is not a gift of man.[59] Augustine explains that one has to distinguish in a sacrament: "by whom it is given, to whom it is given, through whom it is given".[60] The consequence of this distinction – with which he opens his *sermo* 266, which shows the anti-Donatist intention of this sermon – is that the sins of the human minister do not influence the sacrament. Augustine reacts here against the Donatist argument: "let not the oil of the sinner fatten my head" (Ps 141, 5), by stating that the oil of Christ is not the oil of the sinner, even when the administrator is a sinner.[61] Benefactor – Christ – and minister/administrator of the grant should be distinguished.[62]

The feast of Pentecost offers Augustine ample occasion for one of his favourite forms of exegesis in his *sermones*, namely the exegesis of numbers.[63] He mentions that there were 120 persons present in the cenacle,[64] ten times the number of the apostles.[65] Pentecost is celebrated on the fiftieth day after resurrection: this is 49 (the seven days of seven weeks) plus one, and this addition of one day stresses the importance of (ecclesial) unity.[66] This Pentecost number of fifty can also be formed by four times ten plus ten. Forty (ascension) is four times ten. Four signifies this age, and is symbolic for time (four seasons) and place (four wind directions) of this world. Ten stands for the ten commandments, the law of God. During our lives in this world, we have to abstain from worldly desires, expressed in the forty days of fastening of Lent – Moses, Elijah and Jesus fasted forty days since it was commanded by the law, the Prophets and the Gospel. Ten days after ascension the Spirit came so that the law could be fulfilled by grace.[67] Ten thus indicates both the law (10 commandments) and that the law can only be fulfilled by the Spirit (coming 10 days after Ascension).[68] Augustine takes this occasion to reflect on the relation between the law and grace.[69] In the same sermon Augustine gives an alternative exegesis of the number 50: seven times seven (Pentecost: seven weeks of seven days after Easter according to Tobit 2, 1) plus one for the sake of unity.[70] The Holy Spirit is signified by the number seven: God sanctified the seventh creation day (Gn 1, 31; 2, 2), seven gifts of the Spirit (Is 11, 2-3). The number one which is added to 49 expresses the unity which the Spirit makes of the body of Christ, the unity of all nations in the one Church.[71] Augustine leads this exegesis of numbers even

54. Cf. *s.* 268, 2: heretics/schismatics have baptism but not the Spirit.
55. *s.* 269, 2.
56. *s.* 269, 2. *s.* 269, 3: Augustine exhorts schismatics – most evidently Donatists – who have Christ's baptism/the form of the sacrament, to come in the church in order to have Christ's Spirit (since all who do not have the Spirit of Christ do not belong to him – Rom 8, 9), to imitate Christ's example, namely by loving unity (argument based on 1 Pt 2, 21; 2 Tim 3, 5; Ps 119, 96; Jn 13, 34; Rom 5, 5; Rom 13, 9-10). *s.* 269, 4: "Nobody can say: Jesus is Lord, except in the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor 12, 13). One has to say this in deeds. This means that heretics/schismatics can only 'say' this by acceding to the ecclesial unity.
s. 269, 3-4: Spiritual people, contrary to worldly people, love unity. Worldly people separate themselves and do not have the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor 2, 14; Jude 19). (Cf. *supra s.* 270, 2: 'spiritual' means believing in Christ's divinity.) See also: W.A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and spiritualis*, *cit*. (n. 28), pp. 184; 187.
57. *s.* 269, 2.
58. *s.* 266, 4-7.
59. *s.* 266, 3-4.
60. *s.* 266, 1. *[...] a quo datur, cui datur, per quem datur [...]* PL 38 c. 1225.
61. *s.* 266, 1.
62. *s.* 266, 1-2.
63. For the Biblical and Patristic significance of the liturgical number 40 (40 days of Lent, Ascension on the fortieth day and Pentecost on the fiftieth day after Easter), and esp. Augustine's interpretation of it (pp. 28-33, "Les quarante jours figurent la durée totale du temps, les cinquante jours, le monde d'au delà du temps." p. 33), see: J. Daniélou, *Le symbolisme des quarante jours*, in *La Maison-Dieu*, 31, 1952, pp. 19-33. See also: G. Bonfrate, *Pasqua e Pentecoste nei Padri da Ireneo ad Agostino*, in S.A. Panimolle, *Dizionario di spiritualità biblico-patristica*, 50: *Pasqua e Pentecoste nei Padri della Chiesa*, Rome, S.A. Borla, 2008, pp. 79-194, pp. 160-163.
For Augustine's Easter exegesis of the numbers 40 (pp. 297-301) and 50 (pp. 301-301), see: A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37).
64. *s.* 266, 2.
65. *ss.* 267, 1; 268, 1.
66. *s.* 268, 1.
67. *s.* 270, 3.
68. *s.* 270, 5-6.
69. *s.* 270, 3-4.
70. *ss.* 270, 6; 272B, 2. In *s.* 272B, 6 Augustine offers a calculation that the Jewish Pentecost (when the law was given) fell on the fiftieth day after the Jewish Easter.
71. *s.* 270, 5.

further: ten (the law) and seven (the Spirit) make seventeen. When all numbers from one to seventeen are added 153 is the result. This number is the number of fishes the apostles caught in the so-called second catch of fishes in the gospel (Jn 21, 6-11), and is an image of the eschatological Church in which only a good, fixed number, of members live – this second catch of fishes after Christ's resurrection is contrary to the first catch, before his resurrection, expressing the earthly church, in which good and bad members are intermingled and schisms occur (Lk 5, 1-7).[72]

Combined with the exegesis of the numbers 40 and 50 Augustine deploys, especially in *sermones* 270 and 272B, a reflection on the relation between grace and the law. The law, without the help of grace, is the letter that kills according to 2 Cor 3, 6. This does not imply that Christians have to do something else other than what is commanded in the law, but that only grace liberates from sin and enables the law to be executed. For this reason the Spirit was sent – who does not kill but brings to life – so that the law could be fulfilled. "The more capacity anybody has for the Spirit, the greater facility he acquires in keeping the law."[73] Moreover, it is charity that fulfils the law, and this charity is given through the Holy Spirit (Rom 5, 5). Augustine distinguishes charity, which results in chaste fear for the law, from fear of punishment, i.e. servile fear.[74] Augustine emphasises that the law is not undone (Mt 5, 17), but only can be fulfilled by charity/grace.[75] The Holy Spirit gives this grace, the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is a 'spiritual grace' (as expressed in Is 11, 2-3).[76] The law is fulfilled through the grace of the Holy Spirit – the gift of God – which is celebrated on the feast of Pentecost.[77] The Sabbath, literally observed by the Jews, has a deeper, spiritual significance: spiritual vacation, tranquillity of heart, good conscience, not sinning.[78] Just as the Jewish Passover was a prefiguration – namely of the Passion of Christ[79] – the Jewish Pentecost, which celebrates the gift of the law to Moses, is a prefiguration.[80] There is however also a significant difference: "The law was given to the Jews in fear; the Holy Spirit has been given to Christians in grace." Because the Jews, in their pride, were convinced they could fulfil the law by their own powers, they were not able to accomplish this, they were found guilty.

> So the law shows you up as guilty, grace delivers you from guilt; the law threatens, grace coaxes; the law lays down penalties, grace promises pardon.

Augustine however refuses to ultimately consider the law and grace as contradictory: "the things that are commanded are the same both in the law and in grace".[81] Augustine makes the following construction: the problem is not to be found in the giver of the law and grace – the Holy Spirit – but in the receivers – Jews and Christians. Augustine explains that the law is also granted by the Holy Spirit. According to Ex 31, 18 the law was written by the finger of God – *digitus Dei*. Combining Lk 11, 20 ("if I by the finger of God cast out demons, be sure the kingdom of God has come upon you") and Mt 12, 28 ("if I by the Spirit of God […], therefore the kingdom of God has come upon you") Augustine identifies the Spirit with the finger of God.[82] The Jews received this law on tablets of stone, indicating the hardness of their heart. The Christians, according to 2 Cor 3, 3, however received it "not on tablets of stone, but on the fleshly tablets of the heart". Contrary to the stony hearts of the Jews, the Christians have hearts like fertile ground. Augustine even expands the comparison, and refers to the finger of Jesus, with which he was writing on the ground in the episode of the repentant sinner (Jn 8, 3-11). The Jews wanted to stone her, according to the law on stone tables, according to their hardness. Christ was writing on the ground, which could bear fruit, contrary to stone, which cannot bear fruit.[83]

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72. *s.* 270, 7. For Augustine's exegesis, in his preaching, of the two catches of fishes in the gospels, see: M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur*, *cit*. (n. 52), pp. 491-492; pp. 576-577.
73. *s.* 270, 3. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 292. *Hoc donat credentibus, hoc donat fidelibus, hoc donat eis quibus dat Spiritum sanctum. Quanto fit eo quisque capacior, tanto ad operandam legem fit facilior*. PL 38 c. 1241. This is a very condense paragraph, containing the key elements and scriptural quotes (Gal 3, 21-22; 2 Cor 3, 6; Gal 5, 6; Rom 4, 15; 1 Cor 8, 1; Mt 5, 17) of Augustine's thinking on grace, however without much elaboration.
74. *s.* 270, 4. For the difference between the Jewish and Christian Pentecost as a difference between *timor* and *caritas*, see: J.J. Verhees, *God in beweging*, *cit*. (n. 34), pp. 48-53.
75. *s.* 270, 3-4.
76. *s.* 270, 5-6.
77. *s.* 270, 7.
78. *s.* 270, 5. W.A. Schumacher, *Spiritus and spiritualis*, *cit*. (n. 28), p. 169.
79. *s.* 272B, 2-4. Cf. *s.* 272B, 1: In the Old Testament grace was promised, in the New Testament it is given. For the relation between law and grace in *s.* 272B, see also: G. Bonfrate, *Pasqua e Pentecoste*, *cit*. (n. 63), pp. 177-178.
80. For a historico-liturgical research of the historical link between the Jewish and Christian celebration of Pentecost, see: G. Kretzschmar, *Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten*, in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 66, 1954/55, pp. 209-253.
81. *s.* 272B, 3. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 306. *Lex data est Iudaeis in timore; Spiritus sanctus datus est christianis in gratia. [...] Lex ergo reos ostendit, gratia liberat a reatu; lex minatur, gratia blanditur; lex poenam intendit, gratia indulgentiam pollicetur. Tamen ipsa sunt, quae praecipiuntur in lege, quae et in gratia; et ideo lex illa digito Dei scripta dicitur. RÉAug*, 44 p. 199.
Cf. *s.* 272B, 7: For the Jews the law was a hard burden, because it threatens and punishes. Christ comes with grace, his yoke is easy and his load light (Mt 11, 28-30) because He coaxes, He forgives. For Augustine's discussion of the burden of Christ in his preaching, see: S. Poque, *Le langage symbolique*, *cit*. (n. 20), pp. 295-296.
82. *s.* 272B, 4. Cf. *s.* 272B, 5.7. For *digitus Dei* see also: A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37), pp. 292-294. G. Ferraro, *Lo Spirito Santo*, *cit*. (n. 42), pp. 11-14.
83. *s.* 272B, 5. The indulgence of Christ signifies grace. For the image of the adulterous woman in Augustine's sermons, see: S. Poque, *Le langage symbolique*, *cit*. (n. 20), pp. 133-136.

Besides the clear thematisation of grace in relation to the law in *sermones* 270 and 272B, the concept of grace is also present in the Pentecost *sermones* in a less explicit or less elaborated way. In a certain way this is logical: Augustine constantly talks about the gift of the Spirit: the Spirit is being given by Christ to humanity. This gift assures the unity of the Church (cf. supra). He also uses the term *gratia* to express the character of this gift. The feast of Pentecost remembers the great grace that has been poured over the Christians: gift/grace/abundance of mercy of God.[84] At Pentecost, the apostles preached the grace of Christ.[85] After the vision of Acts 10, 9-15, Peter preached the grace of Christ to uncircumcised Gentiles.[86] Simon did not understand that the gift of the Spirit is grace. If he had understood this, he would have received it for free, but because of his attempt to buy this gift he was however deemed unworthy of this grace.[87] The newness of the new wineskins indicates grace, as opposed to the old way of being carnal.[88] There is a diversity of baptisms in the book of Acts to make clear that baptism and the gift of the H. Spirit are only attributed to divine grace and not to human pride.[89]

The apostle Peter is present in the Pentecost sermons. Together with John he laid hands upon the faithful of Samaria baptised by Philip.[90] He preached to Cornelius and his household, who received the Spirit listening to Peter.[91] Augustine explains the vision (Acts 10, 9-15) which removed Peter's doubts to preach to Cornelius, to preach to uncircumcised Gentiles in general (cf. Acts 10, 28).[92] When Peter wanted to oppose Christ's passion, his affection was still centred at Christ as human (Mt 16, 22-23). His subsequent belief in Christ as the Son of the living God was granted him by the Spirit.[93]

The Pentecost sermons often rebuke pride. Augustine warns his fellow bishops (with Mt 23, 8: "Do not let yourselves be called Rabbi by men; for you have only one master, the Christ") to not become proud about their *magisterium*, because all Christians are fellow students in the same school of the same one master.[94] He reacts against the heretical proud self-appropriation of the Spirit. Simon wanted to buy the capacity to let the Spirit come by the laying on of hands: he wanted to puff up his own importance.[95] The proud and arrogant heretic thinks the Spirit comes from himself and not from Christ.[96] He also refers to the pride of the Jews. The Jews were not cured by the law. Because of their pride, they thought they could fulfil the law with their own powers.[97] Referring to 1 Cor 8, 1, Augustine states that knowledge – the knowledge of the law – without charity puffs up, charity with knowledge builds up, in order to fulfil the law.[98] The Holy Spirit can only be received by a humble heart – filling a hollow place like water – and runs away from proud self-importance. "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (Jas 4, 6; 1 Pt 5, 5). This grace is given by the Spirit. "He fills the humble, because he finds them capacious."[99] He links pride with Pentecost.[100] The Holy Spirit brings unity in the languages, which divide humanity as a punishment for the human pride which built a tower against God.[101]

The collection of Pentecost sermons contains anti-schismatic assertions. We already have observed that the ecclesial unity is stressed.[102] 'Worldly' people break unity.[103] A schism breaks away from the unity of the Church, hates peace.[104] There is no Spirit outside the unity of the Church.[105] Heretics and schismatics have the form of baptism, but outside the unity they do not have the Spirit.[106] Augustine reacts against the pride of heretics.[107] These assertions could be meant against any kind of heresy or schism, but are frequently used by Augustine against the Donatists, despite the fact that their name is not mentioned anywhere in the Pentecost sermons. Even more explicit anti-Donatist is Augustine's rebuke of their sacramentology in

84. *ss.* 267, 1; 270, 1
85. *s.* 266, 2.
86. *s.* 266, 2: *Christi gratia praedicantibus*. PL 38 c. 1225. See: L. Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi' in Augustins 'sermones ad populum'* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Neue Folge, Reihe 1. Band 23), Paderborn / München / Wien / Zürich, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, pp. 120-122.
87. *s.* 266, 4.
88. *s.* 267, 2.
89. *s.* 269, 2.
90. *ss.* 266, 4; 269, 2.
91. *ss.* 266, 6; 269, 2.
92. *s.* 266, 6.
93. *s.* 270, 2. Cf. *s.* 272B, 1: the first opinion of Peter belonged to the old wineskin.
94. *s.* 270, 1.
95. *s.* 266, 3.
96. *s.* 266, 7.
97. *s.* 272B, 3.
98. *s.* 270, 3.
99. *s.* 270, 6. Hill, *Sermons III/7 (230-272B)*, p. 294. *Implet humiles, quia capaces inuenit*. PL 38 c. 1243.
100. Cf. *s.* 269, 1. The fierce Pentecost gust did not puff the disciples up, but quickend them. *Flatus enim ille non inflauit, sed uegatauit: ignis ille non cremauit, sed excitauit*. PL 38 c. 1234.
101. *s.* 271. Similarly, the humility of the faithful brought the variety of languages to the Church in unity. Cf. *s.* 272A: Christ gave us an example of humility. For Augustine's reflexion on Pentecost (humility, unity) as an answer to Babel (pride, confusion), see: A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, Bd. II, Teil 1, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1958, pp. 391-404. E. Lamirande, *L'annonce de l'unité dans l'universalité*, *cit*. (n. 34), pp. 163-165. M. Pontet, *L'exégèse de S. Augustin prédicateur*, *cit*. (n. 52), pp. 427-428.
102. *ss.* 266, 2; 267, 2; 268, 1-4; 269, 1-4; 270, 6; 271; 272B, 2. Cf. *s.* 272: Eucharist as sacrament of unity, that has to be received within this bond of peace.
103. *s.* 269, 3. Cf. *s.* 270, 7: the breaking of the fishing nets of the 'first catch of fishes' symbolises schisms (Lk 5, 17).
104. *s.* 271.
105. *ss.* 267, 4; 268, 2.
106. *ss.* 269, 2-4; 271. For Augustine's thinking of the absence of the Spirit outside the *catholica*, see: J.J. Verhees, *God in beweging*, *cit*. (n. 34), pp. 80-90.
107. *s.* 266, 3.7

sermo 266: not the minister, but Christ/H. Spirit (cf. *supra*). The sermon opens with the Donatist argument of Ps 141, 5: "The just man will correct me out of mercy, but let the oil of the sinner not fatten my head." Donatists use this verse, i.e. "oil of the sinner", to demand complete purity, especially of their clergy. Augustine rebukes this claim. At the end of the sermon, he comes back to the first part of this Psalm verse, and applies this to the Donatists. They do not listen to the corrections of the just man (who beats and rebukes out of love and respect), but to the flattery of the flatterer (i.e. the sinner of Ps 141, 5).[108] He not only uses their biblical argument against them, but he also makes clear that they are sinners. Actually, the oil they receive is good, while they themselves are bad, because they have cut themselves off, and broken the unity.[109] The warning that the friends of the bridegroom (Christ) should not try to seduce the bride (the Church) could be read as anti-Donatist. A good friend does not want to be loved instead of the bridegroom.[110]

Content analysis

Grace in Augustine's Pentecost *sermones*

Grace in general, vague references

Sermones 29, 29A and 29B deal with the same themes on the basis of their discussion of Ps 118, 1 (117, 1): the twofold meaning of *confessio*; God is good and He makes all things good; human goodness comes from God; human wrongdoing comes from humans themselves; the need to confess one's sins; confession of one's sins to a human judge leads to punishment, while confession to God leads to forgiveness. The link regarding content with the *Confessiones* is unmistakable. While *sermo* 29 and 29B emphasise the confession of sins, Augustine explores the goodness of God in greater depth in *sermo* 29A. The subject of *gratia* is only discretely present in these three sermons, namely in their description of God. The forgiving God is good and merciful, everything that can be said to be good about human beings comes from Him. God crowns the struggling human being and transforms human suffering for the good. Contrary to a human judge, God as judge knows our sins before we confess them, He does not torture and grants forgiveness. Augustine evidently limits himself in these short homilies to the subject at hand, to a single delimited subject, the clear explanation of the meaning of *confiteri* and *confessio*. These three homilies exhibit in the first instance a moral-exhortative content, a call to be contrite with regard to one's own sins, to praise God, to struggle against sin, and to turn away from the worldly.

The same observation is true for the very short *sermones* 272 and 272A, which are each restricted to one very specific topic, namely the Eucharist and humility. Most evidently these themes express at least implicitly grace: the sacrament of Eucharist, unity and peace are gifts of grace; humility – as opposed to pride – is intrinsically linked with grace.

As well as in *sermones* 270 and 272B, grace is also discussed in the other *sermones* with a clear Pentecost thematisation, although not elaborately: baptism, the gift of the H. Spirit, newness are also forms of grace – which is freely given, unrelated to man's efforts. The apostles preached the grace of Christ. These kinds of assertions concerning grace are normal in Augustine's discourses, and are to be found from his earliest writings and sermons onwards.

Throughout all the studied *sermones* pride is rebuked. *Sermones* 29 and 29B for example claim that all good comes from God and all that is sin comes from man; *sermones* 272 and 272A exhort to humility, as opposed to pride; *sermo* 272B rebukes the pride of the Jews, *sermo* 266 of the *haeretici* (Simon), *sermo* 270 makes clear that grace and pride are opposed to each other.

Digitus Dei

Augustine considers the theme of the *digitus Dei* in *sermo* 272B. Hoondert seems to suggest that here it has an anti-Pelagian stance.[111] In order to investigate this, we will give a detailed overview of this theme in Augustine's writings, which gives us at the same time the opportunity to see the Pentecost motive operating in other writings of Augustine.

Augustine's reflection on *digitus Dei* begins well before the Pelagian controversy. *Contra Faustum Manicheum* 32, 12 (397/399) describes how Christians, like the Jews, celebrate Easter and Pentecost, but in a different way. Both Jewish feasts signify two Christian feasts: the suffering and resurrection of the Lord, prefigured by the slaying of

108. *s.* 266, 1.8. For Ps 140, 5 in *s.* 266, see: L. Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi'*, *cit.* (n. 86), pp. 94-97; pp. 115-117. See also: J.A. Stoop, *Die Pinksterprediking van Augustinus*, in *Kerk en Eredienst*, 7, 1952, pp. 67-72, 69-70.

109. *s.* 266, 7. Augustine also reacts concisely in this paragraph against the Donatist arguments of 1 Cor 11, 29 ("those who eat unworthily, eat and drink judgement upon themselves") and the case of Judas. The stress on the universality of the Church – containing all nations – in Augustine's explanation of Peter's vision in Joppa (Acts 10, 9-15) could also be a critique on the nationalistic tendency of the Donatists (*s.* 266, 6).

110. *s.* 268, 3.

111. M. Hoondert, *Les sermons de saint Augustin*, *cit.* (n. 3), pp. 300-301. Hoondert's overview of occurrences of *digitus Dei* is not exhaustive, since he does not mention *Contra Faustum Manicheum* 32, 12; *De catechizandis rudibus* 23, 41; *Epistula* 55, 28-29 and *s.* 156, 14.

the lamb; and the sending of the Holy Spirit promised by Christ on the fiftieth day after the resurrection prefigured by Moses receiving the law written by the finger of God on the mountain on the fiftieth day after the celebration of the slaying of the lamb. Augustine adds that the gospel calls the Holy Spirit the finger of God (Lk 11, 20). Christians do not celebrate Easter and Pentecost in the Jewish way since what the Jews anticipated had already been accomplished. *De catechizandis rudibus* (ca. 400) describes the promulgation of the law. During their stay of forty years in the desert, the Jewish people received the law, written by the finger of God. *Digitus Dei* indicates the Holy Spirit, as stated by the gospel (Lk 11, 20). This finger should not be conceived of as a human/bodily form. It is a symbol: the different fingers of one hand are distinguished but form a unity, just like the Holy Spirit distributes the gifts of God to the saints in order that they could do different things without breaking the *concordia caritatis*. The Jews received the law, written by God's finger on tablets of stone to indicate the hardness of their heart, not willing to fulfil the law. Longing for material goods from God, they were held by carnal fear instead of by spiritual *caritas*. Only through this *caritas* can the law be fulfilled. They were burdened with plenty of external rites, designed to put them under the servile yoke, which actually were spiritual realities prefiguring Christ. Only a few amongst the Jews interpreted them in such a way that they had offered them fruits for their salvation, but most of the mass of carnal people practised them without understanding the meaning of them.[112] In *Epistula* 55 (401) Augustine explains the number forty to Januarius: forty days of fastening, originating from the fasting of Moses, Elijah and Christ, signifying taking distance from the world (ten [expressing the perfection of our beatitude] times four [the world: four wind directions, four elements, four seasons]). This forty plus ten is fifty, which indicates the reward of self-control: Pentecost. A different explanation is possible for fifty: seven times seven and a Sunday added (eighth day/first day).[113] Fifty days after the Jewish celebration of the Pasch – sacrifice of the lamb – the law was given on Mount Sinai to Moses, written by the finger of God. The finger of God indicates the Holy Spirit (Lk 11, 20; Mt 12, 28). The two Testaments are in harmony and proclaim the same truth.

> The lamb is slain; the Pasch is celebrated, and after an interval of fifty days the law which was written by the finger of God is given to instil fear. Christ, who was led like a lamb to sacrifice, is slain, as Isaiah testifies (cf. Is 53, 7); the true Pasch is celebrated, and after an interval of fifty days the Holy Spirit, who is the finger of God, is given to arouse love.

The Pharaoh's magicians also recognised, that the Holy Spirit, the finger of God, was in Moses, when they failed in the third sign (Ex 8, 19). The Holy Spirit is opposed to those who seek their own interest. For this reason he gives rest to the humble of heart, but disquiet to the proud, esp. to the heretics.[114]

The theme is also discussed in two sermons which cannot be clearly situated. *Sermo* 8 (Hill: 410, Rebillard: 411, Gryson: 403, Hombert: 403) contains similar concepts and a parallel structure of reasoning as *sermo* 272B. Augustine compares the Egyptian magicians, who did not succeed in understanding the third sign (the third plague) with schismatics. The third plague in Egypt is the opposite of the third commandment (Ex 20, 8): sanctification of the Sabbath. Sanctification of the Sabbath originates from the seventh day of creation, and is the sanctification of God's vacation/rest, which belongs to the Holy Spirit. There is no true or divine sanctification without the Holy Spirit. For this reason the number seven – seventh day – is linked to the H. Spirit. The sevenfold qualities/activities of the Spirit moreover are expressed by Isaiah (Isa 11, 2-3). This number seven is also the basis of the feast of Pentecost. Via Tobit 2, 1, Augustine explains that Pentecost is celebrated on the fiftieth day: seven

112. *De catechizandis rudibus* 20, 34. Cf. *De catechizandis rudibus* 22, 39-40: elaborates on the 'sixth age' of the world, which begins with Christ's incarnation, in which the law is fulfilled out of love for the law giver and not out of *cupiditas* for temporal goods, in which humanity is renewed and leads a spiritual life, contrary to the old life of the ancient covenant (except a small number of patriarchs and prophets and some hidden saints who understood the spiritual meaning) who lived in a carnal way longing for carnal rewards. Christ learned to not fear earthly evils and to not look for happiness in earthly goods. Cf. *De catechizandis rudibus* 23, 41: Fifty days after his resurrection, Christ sent the promised Holy Spirit, so the disciples could – thanks to the *caritas* poured out in their hearts by the Holy Spirit – fulfil the law, not only without any burden (*onus*), but even with pleasure (*iucunditas*). This law was given to the Jews in ten commandments (summarised in the two commandments of Mt 22, 37-40: to love God and to love ones neighbour as one loves oneself). The Jews received the law – written by the finger of God, which signifies the Holy Spirit – fifty days after the Jews celebrated *in imagine* the first Easter. In a parallel way, fifty days after the passion and resurrection – i.e. the real Easter – the Spirit was sent to the disciples. The tablets of stone do not anymore signify the hardness of hearts. The disciples started to speak all languages, and this was the beginning of the preaching of the apostles, the conversion of the Jews and of the gentiles.

113. *Epistula* 55, 28.

114. *Epistula* 55, 29. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), R. Teske (trans., notes), *Letters (1-99)* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, II/1), Brooklyn / New York New, City Press, 2001, p. 231. *Occiditur ouis, celebratur pascha et interpositis quinquaginta diebus datur lex ad timorem scripta digito Dei [Ex 31, 18]: occiditur Christus, qui tamquam ouis ad immolandum ductus est [Is 53, 7], sicut Esaias propheta testatur, celebratur uerum pascha et interpositis quinquaginta diebus datur ad caritatem Spiritus sanctus, qui est digitus Dei, […]*. CSEL 34/2 p. 203. *Epistula* 55, 30 offers a calculation of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai 50 days after Easter completely parallel to *sermo* 272B, 6. Here we received the pledge of the rest of the next life (cf. *s*. 378). *Epistula* 55, 31: Fifty multiplied by three and three added (to indicate the eminence of the mystery) is the number of fishes of Jn 21, 6-11. Augustine stresses that the nets were not torn, indicating the absence of heretics. This number is also the result of all numbers of 17 added up: sevenfold purification (Ps 12, 7) and the reward of a *denarius* (= 10, Mt 20, 2.9-10.13).

times seven (Holy Spirit) and one (expression of the unity of the Church) is added, or forty and ten (ten commandments; expressing that the law can only be fulfilled through the grace of the Holy Spirit). "But anyone who does not adhere to the unity of Christ and barks against the unity of Christ cannot be understood to have the Holy Spirit." These unspiritual people cause divisions, and do not receive the Spirit (Jude 19). They believe the same things as us, but do not receive the Spirit as long as they are enemies of unity. They have the form of piety, but deny its power (2 Tim 3, 5).[115]

> Finally, to help us recognize how Pharaoh's magicians themselves admit to what the Holy Spirit was called in the gospel, let us see what name he received there. When the Jews threw mud at the Lord and said, *This man only throws out demons by Beelzebub the prince of demons,* he replied, *If I throw out demons by the Spirit of God, the kingdom of God has surely come upon you* (Mt 12, 28). Another evangelist puts it like this: *If I by the finger of God throw out demons* (Lk 11, 20). What that one called the Spirit of God, the other called the finger of God. So the Spirit of God is the finger of God. That's why when the law was given it was written by the finger of God, the law which was given on Mount Sinai on the fiftieth day after the slaughter of the lamb. Fifty days after the Jewish Passover, when the lamb is slaughtered, the law is given, written by the finger of God. Likewise, fifty days after the slaughter of Christ, the Holy Spirit comes, that is, the finger of God. The Lord be thanked, who hides his clues so providently and opens them up so delightfully. Now at last Pharaoh's magicians see plainly, unambiguously admitting that when they failed to understand the third sign, they said *This is the finger of God* (Ex 8, 19). Let us praise the Lord, the giver of understanding, the giver of the word. If these things were not concealed in mysteries, they would never be searched for in earnest. And if they weren't searched for in earnest, they would not be discovered with such pleasure.[116]

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 90, 2, 8 (Müller: -, Zarb: September-November 412, Rondet: after Easter 408) Augustine comments on: "He has given his angels orders concerning you, to guard you in all your ways, they shall bear you up with their hands, so that you may never stub your foot on a stone (Mt 4, 6)." These feet symbolise the saints and apostles – the feet of the Lord – and the stone the law, given on stone tablets. In order that they would not stumble – i.e. not be held guilty under the law, according to its precepts as though they had not received grace – the Lord sent the Holy Spirit, to give love and not fear, because it is only love which keeps and fulfils the law. Augustine gives the example of Peter, who denied Christ three times out of fear – before having received the Holy Spirit. Christ dissolved this triple fear into triple love (Jn 21, 15-17).

> But why did our Lord Jesus Christ rise from the dead? Listen to the apostle's statement: *He died for our transgressions, and rose for our justification* (Rom 4, 25). And with reference to the Holy Spirit, the gospel says, *The Spirit had not yet been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified* (Jn 7, 39). Now what is this glorification of Jesus? It means his resurrection and ascension into heaven. When he had been glorified by God through his ascension into heaven, he sent his Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. According to the law, as set forth in Moses' book, Exodus, fifty days are counted from the day on which the lamb was slain and eaten; and this feast commemorates the giving of the law, which was written on stone tablets by the finger of God. The gospel explains to us what the finger of God is: it is God's Holy Spirit. How can we demonstrate this? When the Jews accused our Lord of casting out demons in the name of Beelzebub, he replied, *If I cast out demons by the Spirit of God*... (Mt 12, 28); but another evangelist when describing the same event reports his words thus: *If I cast out demons by the finger of God*... (Lk 11, 20). What was stated clearly in one gospel was stated obscurely in the other. You would not have known what the finger of God might be, if the other evangelist had not explained that it was the Spirit of God. So, then, the law written by the finger of God was given on the fiftieth day after the slaying of the lamb, and the Holy Spirit came on the fiftieth day after the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ. Long ago the lamb was slain and the Passover observed. Then, when fifty days had elapsed, the law was given. But that law provoked fear, not love. In order that fear might be transformed into love, the righteous one was slain, symbolic of the lamb which the Jews were accustomed to slaughter. He rose again, and fifty days are counted from our Lord's Passover, just as fifty days were counted from the slaying of the lamb. Then comes the Holy Spirit in the fullness of love, not threatening punishment or striking fear.[117]

115. *s.* 8, 17. J. E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), M. Pellegrino (intr.), *Sermons I (1-19), On the Old Testament* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, III/1), Brooklyn / New York, New City Press, 1990, p. 252. *Quisquis autem non cohaeret unitati Christi et oblatrat aduersus unitatem Christi intellegendus est non habere Spiritum sanctum*. CCL 41 p. 96.

116. *s.* 8, 18. Hill, *Sermons I (1-19)*, pp. 252-254. *Denique, ut iam euidenter ipsis confitentibus faraonis magis agnoscere ualeamus, quomodo appellatus est in euangelio Spiritus Dei, uideamus quod nomen accepit. Obicientes Domino conuicium Iudaei cum dixissent: hic non eicit daemonia nisi in Belzebub principe daemoniorum [Mt 12, 24], respondit ille: si ego in Spiritu Dei eicio daemonia, certe superuenit in uos regnum Dei [Mt 12, 28]. quod alius euangelista sic narrat: si ego in digito Dei eicio daemonia [Lc 11, 20]. Quod ille dixit Spiritus Dei, alius dixit digitus Dei. Ergo Spiritus Dei, digitus Dei. Ideo lex data scripta digito Dei, quae lex data est in monte Sina quinquagesimo die post occisionem ouis. Celebrato pascha a populo Iudaeorum implentur quinquaginta dies post occisionem ouis, et datur lex scripta digito Dei. Implentur quinquaginta dies post occisionem Christi, et uenit Spiritus sanctus, hoc est, digitus Dei. Gratias Domino occultanti prouidenter, aperienti suauiter. Iam uidete hoc etiam faraonis magos euidentissime confiteri. Deficientes in tertio signo dixerunt: digitus Dei est hic [Ex 8, 19]. Laudemus Dominum, datorem intellectus, datorem uerbi. Haec si non mysteriis tegerentur, numquam studiose quaererentur. Si autem non studiose quaererentur, non tam suauiter inuenirentur.* CCL 41, pp. 98-99.

117. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), M. Boulding (trans., notes), *Expositions of the Psalms (73-98), On the New Testament* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, III/18), Brooklyn / New York, New City Press, 2002, pp. 339-340. *Resurrexit autem Dominus Iesus Christus, propter quid? Apostolum audite: mortuus est propter delicta nostra, et resurrexit propter iustificationem nostram [Rm 4, 25]. Item*

The concept of *digitus Dei* also occurs outside the Pelagian context. *De ciuitate Dei* 16, 43 (414-419) deals with the Old testament prefigurations of the Church. Augustine discusses the image of the exodus. He mentions that Moses, *in potestate spiritus Dei*, triumphed over the magicians of the Pharaoh. The people spent forty years in the desert, guided by Moses. The law was given in a terrifying way, fifty days after they celebrated Easter with the sacrifice of the Passover lamb. This sacrifice is a *typus Christi*: signifying that He through the sacrifice of the Passion would go to the Father. This prefiguration is so clear that at the revelation of the new covenant on the fiftieth day after Christ's death, our Pascha, the Holy Spirit came from heaven, who is called finger of God in the gospel. This was done in order to recall to us the first prefiguring fact, because it is stated that the tablets of the law were also written by the finger of God. In the explanation of the Exodus account in *Quaestionum libri septem* (= *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*; 419-420) Augustine mentions the words of the magicians to the Pharaoh concerning the third plague: *digitus Dei est hoc* (Ex 8, 19). This finger of God, which operates through Moses, is according to the gospel (combination of Lk 11, 20 and Mt 12, 28) the Holy Spirit. The Pharaoh's heart however was so hardened (cf. Ex 7, 22) that he did not recognize the finger of God at work in Moses.[118]

The topic of *digitus Dei* has a specific anti-Pelagian use. *De spiritu et littera* (412) states that when the Spirit is lacking, the letter does not free people of sin but makes them guilty because of their knowledge of sin. Not the law itself is evil, because it gives knowledge of sin. If the law is fulfilled out of fear, it is observed as if by a slave, and is in this way actually not observed, because love is lacking. Delight in the law is a gift of the Spirit.[119] Grace remained veiled in the Old Testament. Of the Ten Commandments, only the Sabbath is a symbolic commandment: the day of sanctification – referring to God's seventh day of creation – is abstaining from servile work, i.e. from sin. Not sinning pertains to sanctification, this is the gift of God through the Holy Spirit. The Ten Commandments were written on tablets of stone, and only the Sabbath commandment was symbolic.[120]

> *The Lord is the Spirit, but where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom* (2 Cor 3, 17). This is the Spirit of God by whose gift we are justified; by this gift there comes to be in us a delight in not sinning so that we have freedom. So too, without this Spirit we find delight in sinning so that we are enslaved. We must abstain from the works of such slavery; that is, we must observe the Sabbath in a spiritual way. This is the Holy Spirit by whom love is poured out in our hearts (Rom 5, 5), and love is the fulfilment of the law (cf. Rom 13, 10). In the gospel this Holy Spirit is also called the finger of God (cf. Deut 9, 10). Those tablets were written by the finger of God, and the finger of God is the Spirit of God by whom we are sanctified so that we live from faith and do good works through love (Gal 5, 6). Who can fail to be struck by the similarity as well as the difference? Through Moses God commanded that the Passover be observed with the killing of a lamb as a symbol (cf. Ex 12, 3-10), in order to signify the future passion of the Lord. And we count fifty days from the celebration of Passover up to the day on which Moses received the law written by the finger of God on those tablets. So too, after fifty days had passed from the killing and rising of him who was *led off like a sheep for sacrifice* (Is 53, 7), the finger of God, that is, the Holy Spirit, filled the faithful who were gathered in one place (cf. Acts 2, 1-4).[121]

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de Spiritu sancto euangelium: Spiritus, inquit, nondum erat datus, quia Iesus nondum erat clarificatus [Jn 7, 39]. Quae est clarificatio Iesu? Resurrexit, et adscendit in caelum. A Deo clarificatus adscensione in caelum, misit Spiritum suum sanctum die pentecostes. In lege autem, in libro Moysi Exodo, a die agni occisi et manducati quinquaginta dies numerantur; et data est lex in tabulis lapideis scripta digito Dei. Quid sit digitus Dei, euangelium nobis exponit: quia digitus Dei Spiritus sanctus est. Quomodo probamus? Dominus respondens ais qui illum dicebant in nomine Beelzebub eicere daemonia, ait: si ego in Spiritu Dei eicio daemonia [Mt 12, 28]; alius euangelista cum hoc narraret, si ego, inquit, in digito Dei eicio daemonia [Mt 12, 28]. Quod ergo positum est in uno aperte, positum est in altero obscure; nesciebas quid sit digitus Dei, exponit alius euangelista, dicens eum esse Spiritum Dei. Digito ergo Dei scripta lex data est die quinquagesimo ab occisione agni, et Spiritus sanctus uenit die quinquagesimo a passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Occisus est agnus, factum est pascha, impleti sunt quinquaginta dies, data est lex. Sed lex illa ad timorem, non ad amorem; ut autem timor conuerteretur in amorem, occisus est iustus iam in ueritate; cuius typus erat ille agnus quem occidebant Iudaei. Resurrexit; et a die paschae Domini, sicut a die paschae agni occisi, numerantur quinquaginta dies; et uenit Spiritus sanctus, iam in plenitudine amoris, non in poena timoris. CCL 39, p. 1275.

118. *Quaestionum libri septem* 2, 25. That the third plague is linked with the Holy Spirit, as *digitus Dei*, expresses according to Augustine the mystery of the Trinity.

119. *De spiritu et littera* 14, 26.

120. *De spiritu et littera* 15, 27.

121. *De spiritu et littera* 16, 28. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), R.J. Teske (trans., notes), *Answer to the Pelagians 1* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, I/23), Brooklyn / New York, New City Press, 1997, p. 168. *Dominus autem Spiritus est; ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas [2 Cor 3, 17]. Hic autem Spiritus Dei, cuius dono iustificamur, quo fit in nobis ut non peccare delectet, ubi libertas est, sicut praeter hunc Spiritum peccare delectat, ubi seruitus, a cuius operibus abstinendum, id est spiritaliter sabbatizandum, est, hic Spiritus sanctus, per quem diffunditur caritas in cordibus nostris, quae plenitudo legis est, etiam digitus Dei in euangelio dicitur. Vnde quia et illae tabulae digito Dei conscriptae sunt et digitus Dei est Spiritus Dei, per quem sanctificamur, ut ex fide uiuentes per dilectionem bene operemur, quem non moueat ista congruentia ibidemque distantia? Dies enim quinquaginta conputantur a celebratione paschae, quae figurate occisione ouis per Moysen fieri praecepta est in significationem utique futurae dominicae passionis, usque ad diem, quo Moyses legem accepit in tabulis digito Dei conscriptis; similiter ab occisione et resurrectione illius, qui sicut ouis ad immolandum ductus est [Is 53, 7], quinquaginta diebus conpletis congregatos in unum fideles digitus Dei, hoc est Spiritus sanctus, inpleuit.* CSEL 60 pp. 181-182.
For the theme of the law (referring to the pre-Tora natural law or, according to Augustine's more favourite interpretation, the New Covenant law written by the Spirit/God's finger) written in the heart (Rom 2, 15) in Augustine's writings up to his *De spiritu et littera* (412), see: M. Verschoren, *Lex in cordibus scripta and conscientia (Rom 2,15) according to Augustine*, in *Augustiniana*, 58/1-2, 2008, pp. 75-93.

Sermo 155 (Hill: 419, Rebillard: October 417, Gryson: May 418, Partoens: 15/10/417) refers to the *digitus Dei* in a clearly anti-Pelagian exposition on Rom 8, 1-11. The law of sin and of death (Rom 8, 1-2), against which the apostle is struggling according to Rom 7, 23 and from which we will be delivered by the law of the Spirit of life in Christ (Rom 8, 2), is not the law of Moses. This law of Moses however does not liberate, despite the fact that it was also written by the finger of God. This finger of God has to be understood as the Holy Spirit (combination of Mt 12, 28; Lk 11, 20; Ex 8, 19). This is not the law of sin, because it was given by the Spirit of God/finger of God, but at the same time it is not the law of the Spirit of life in Christ which delivers from the law of sin and death (Rom 8, 1-2).[122]

> So then, why is this law, written by the finger of God, not the one which brings this support of grace we are talking about? Why not? Because it was written on tablets of stone, not on the fleshly tablets of the heart.[123]

> So the Passover was celebrated by that ancient people, not yet in the brightness of broad daylight but in the symbolism of a shadow; and fifty days after the celebration of Passover – as anybody who wants to can find out by simply counting –, the law was given on Mount Sinai, written by the finger of God. […] So the Passover is celebrated, the Lord rises again, he makes the passage from death to life, which is the Passover; and fifty days are counted, and the Holy Spirit, the finger of God, comes.[124]

The big difference between the Jewish and Christian Pentecost is that God/the Spirit wrote the law for the first occasion on stone, but the second was written in the heart (Ex 31, 18; 2 Cor 3, 3; Jer 31, 31-33). Augustine also notices that the Jewish Pentecost, contrary to the Christian Pentecost, was characterised by fear.[125] Christ did not come to undo the Mosaic law, but to fulfil it (Mt 5, 17), and for this endeavour Christ's grace, the Spirit, is necessary.[126] *Sermo* 156, 14 (Hill: 419, Rebillard: October 417, Gryson: May 418, Partoens: 17/10/417 or May 418) continues the anti-Pelagian Romans commentary by discussing Rom 8, 12-17. Augustine argues against the Pelagians that the law alone is not enough. The law of Mount Sinai is the Spirit of slavery, which handed out fear (Rom 8, 15) contrary to being led by the Spirit of God which means being led by charity (Rom 5, 5). Fear (in the old covenant) leads to slavery, charity (in the new covenant) leads to freedom (1 John 4, 18). Augustine emphasises this is the same Spirit, and not a spirit of slavery distinguished from a spirit of freedom.

> So it's the same Spirit, but in fear on the tablets of stone, in love on the tablets of the heart (cf. 2 Cor 3, 3). Those of you who were here the day before yesterday [reference to *s*. 155, 6], heard how the people standing a long way off were terrified by voices, fire, smoke on the mountain (cf. Ex 20, 18); but how when the Holy Spirit came, himself being the finger of God, how he came on the fiftieth day after the shadow of Passover, and in tongues of fire settled on each one of them (cf. Acts 2, 1-4). So no longer now in fear, but in love; that we might be, not slaves, but sons.[127]

We have to conclude that the theme of *digitus Dei* (Ex 31, 18; Lk 11, 20; Mt 12, 28: the giver of the law = God's finger = Holy Spirit) is present well before the Pelagian controversy and in writings outside this controversial context. The same is also true for the oppositions stone-heart and servile fear-*caritas*, and the prefiguring link between the Jewish and Christian feasts of Easter and Pentecost. An anti-Pelagian *topos* in this context is 2 Cor 3, 6 ("the letter kills", cf. infra), which however is absent in *sermo* 272B (but appears in *sermo* 270, cf. *infra*). *Digitus Dei* thus is rather an element of continuity in Augustine's writing and thinking, and cannot serve as a litmus test for anti-Pelagian thinking.

Grace in specific, aspects of anti-Pelagian doctrine of grace

In the group of *sermones* in which Pentecost is clearly the theme, grace is prominently present in *sermones* 270 and 272B. Both *sermones* reflect on the relation between the law and grace, and explain that grace – the gift of the Holy Spirit – is necessary to fulfil the law and to bring it to its completion. These sermons state that the law should not be abolished. However, without grace the law only makes man guilty. The law was executed by the Jews in

122. *s.* 155, 3.

123. *s.* 155, 4. *Ergo quare non ipsa est lex digito Dei scripta, quae dat adiutorium hoc gratiae, de qua loquimur? Quare? Quia in tabulis lapideis scripta est, non in tabulis cordis carnalibus*. PL 38 c. 843.

124. *s.* 155, 5. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), *Sermons III/5 (148-183), On the New Testament* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, III/5), Brooklyn / New York, New City Press, 1992, pp. 86-87. *Celebratum est ergo pascha in illo ueteri populo, nondum in luce fulgente, sed in umbra significante celebratum est: et post quinquaginta dies a celebratione paschae, sicut computans inueniet qui uoluerit, datur lex in monte Sina, scripta digito Dei. […] Celebratur ergo pascha, resurgit Dominus, facit transitum a morte ad uitam, quod est pascha; et numerantur quinquaginta dies, et uenit Spiritus sanctus, digitus Dei.* PL 38 c. 843.

125. *s*. 155, 6.

126. *s.* 155, 8. Cf. *s.* 155, 9-15: This law is fulfilled by walking according to the Spirit and not according to the flesh (Rom 8, 4), the latter (*concupiscentia carnis*) being the law of sin and death.

127. *s.* 156, 14. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), *Sermons III/5 (148-183), On the New Testament* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century, III/5), Brooklyn / New York, New City Press, 1992, p. 105. *Idem ergo Spiritus, sed in tabulis lapideis in timore, in tabulis cordis in dilectione. Iam nudiustertius qui adfuistis audistis, quomodo longe positam plebem, uoces, ignis, fumus in monte terrebat, quomodo autem ueniens Spiritus sanctus, idem ipse digitus Dei, quinquagesimo die post umbram paschae quomodo uenerit, et igneis linguis super unumquemque eorum insederit. Iam ergo non in timore, sed in dilectione; ut non serui, sed filii simus*. PL 38, c. 857.

fear of punishment. The grace necessary to fulfil the law is given by the Holy Spirit, and is spiritual grace. This is the bottom-line of the doctrine of grace developed in these two sermons. Concisely, but very explicitly, Augustine develops here an aspect of his doctrine of grace very similar to his doctrinal writings in general and his anti-Pelagian treatises in particular.

V. H. Drecoll demonstrates that the idea of the gift of the Holy Spirit, as a *donum Dei*, which forms and reforms humanity to *homo spiritalis* and enables man to orient himself to the spiritual, (as *gratia fidei*/*spiritualis caritas*) to the *spiritualia opera*, is present from the early writings onwards.[128] The pneumatological specification of grace, especially in its relation to the law – as elaborated in *sermones* 270 and 272B –, belongs to Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings. One of the six condemned theses of Caelestius, which were the so-called beginning of the Pelagian controversy, was that both the law and the gospel lead to salvation. Augustine replies that *iustitia* is to be found in *adiutorium gratiae Christi*, and not in *praeceptum legis*, otherwise Christ died in vain.[129] More specifically the theme of *Spiritus gratiae* is dealt with in *De spiritu et littera*, which does not develop the doctrine of grace according to the antagonism Adam-Christ/ original sin-grace, but as the antagonism between law and Spirit. The law is only *littera occidens* if the helping Spirit does not give *caritas/dilectio* (2 Cor 3, 7; Jer 31, 31-34).[130]

The anti-Pelagian aspect of the antagonism law-grace in *sermones* 270 and 272B is confirmed by D. Marafioti's analysis of Augustine's theological understanding of *lex*. In his anti-Manichean defence of the law, Augustine distinguished the moral law – which should be obeyed as expressed in Mt 5, 15 – from the ritual law, which in a spiritual way foreshadows the New Testament. The law which increases sinfulness when it is not obeyed, is however always good, because it instructs what sin is and (as a *paedagogus*) makes man seek for grace.[131] Augustine's teaching on the law is especially developed in *De spiritu et littera*. The letter of the law kills (2 Cor 3, 6), and increases man's guilt. Knowledge of the law is not sufficient: it has to be augmented by love, given by the Holy Spirit. Not the ancient rites (written on stone tablets they are *ministratio mortis* and *ministratio damnationis*), but the moral law has to be fulfilled (according to Mt 5, 17). This law cannot be fulfilled out of servile fear (as in the Old Testament), but can only be accomplished by love, which is gift of grace given to the heart by the Spirit. The law is good, and it reveals (as a pedagogue) the human weakness to man and prompts him to look for a *medicus* (the grace of Christ). The Old Testament was written externally on stone tablets, but was not observed. The New Testament is written by God's finger (the Holy Spirit) in the heart so that it could be loved and fulfilled: the Holy Spirit is the gift of love which makes man perform the *opera caritatis* (Rom 5, 5).[132]

The verses 2 Cor 3, 6 (the letter kills) and Rom 5, 5 (charity given by the Spirit fulfils the law) can be found in Augustine from his earliest writings onwards. Their combination however, of which a clear example is present in *sermo* 270, is a typical anti-Pelagian *topos*.[133]

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128. *De uera religione* 24.29; *Expositio quarundam propositionum ex epistula apostoli ad Romanos* 41; *Expositio epistulae ad Galatas* 15.46. V.H. Drecoll, *Gratia*, in C. Mayer (ed.), K.H. Chelius (red.), *Augustinus-Lexikon* III, 1/2, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 2004, cc. 182-242, cc. 194-196. Augustine's pneumatology, as his doctrine of grace in general, during the Donatist controversy is ecclesiological: *gratia*, *salus*, existence as *spiritalis* only is possible inside the ecclesial community. *Ibid*., cc. 201-202.

129. *De natura et gratia* 1. *Ibid*., c. 210.

130. *De spiritu et littera* 25.32.51. *Ibid*., cc. 205-209. While this argumentation in *De spiritu et littera* and the anti-Pelagian writings is linked with *gratia fidei*, this theme is rather absent in these two *sermones*. Cf. *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali* 1, 10: Grace is not limited to the gift of free will or the instruction by the law, but is faith and *caritas*, the inner active power of the Holy Spirit. *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 7: Faith and good works (*credere* and *uelle*) are the results of the seduction (of love) of man by the Holy Spirit. For the theme of *gratia fidei* in Augustine's *sermones* situated in the period of the Pelagian controversy, see A. Dupont, *Gratia Fidei in the Anti-Pelagian Sermones ad Populum. Sermones 143 and 144: the Rare Appearance of John 16, 7-11*, in G. Partoens, A. Dupont, M. Lamberigts (eds), *Ministerium Sermonis*. *Philological, Historical and Theological Studies on Augustine's Sermones ad Populum* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia; 53), Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 157-197.
Another line of argument in Augustine's anti-Pelagian writings is the gift of the Holy Spirit during baptism, and especially its effect for babies and its effect on original sin, and the assistance of the Holy Spirit in the daily battle against *concupiscentia*. This line of thought is also absent in *ss*. 270 and 272B.

131. *Contra Faustum* 15, 8; 19, 2; 22, 6. D. Marafioti, *Lex. A. Theological Aspects*, in C. Mayer (ed.), K.H. Chelius (red.), *Augustinus-Lexikon* III, 5/6, Basel, Schwabe & Co. AG, 2008, cc. 932-943.

132. For the references to *De spiritu et littera* and additional literature, see *ibid*., cc. 935-943.

133. "Für die Gnadenlehre ragen bei Augustins Heranziehung von *Rm* 5 zwei Verse an Bedeutung heraus: ib. 5,5 und 5,12. Ib. 5,5 wird erstmalig *mor*. 1,23.29 zitiert und zeigt im Pelagianischen Streit das Wesen der *gratia*. Der Vers belegt für Augustin die Notwendigkeit der Geistverleihung [cf. zum Zusammenhang mit der Handauflegung *bapt*. 3,21]. *Caritas* aus *Rm* 5,5 is mit der innerlich bejahten *lex dei* identisch [cf. die Kombination mit ib. 13,10 in *spir. et litt*. 29, *gr. et pecc. or*. 1,10; *ep*. 145,3; *Io. eu. tr*. 17,7; 26,1] und wird mit *2 Cor* 3,6 verbunden [cf. *spir. et litt*. 20; *c. ep. Pel*. 4,11]." "Der Vers *2 Cor* 3,6 (*littera…occidit, spiritus autem uiuificat*) erscheint bei Augustin zunächst im Zusammenhang mit dem geistlichen Schriftverständnis [*Vtil. cred.* 9, cf. *doctr. chr.* 3,9]. Schon in *Simpl*. 1,1 beschreibt Augustin den tötenden Charakter der falsch aufgefaßten Gesetzes mit *2 Cor* 3,6sq. Dem steht der Geist gegenüber, der (cf. *Rm* 5,5) *caritas* ins Herz gießt (*Simpl*. 1,1,15.17). Antimanichäisch sieht Augustin in *2 Cor* 3,6 nicht ausgedrückt, daß das Gesetz verachtet wird (*c. Faust.* 15,8). Dabei wird auch das Gesetz als *littera iubens, quod non possemus inplere* der *spiritalis gratia* gegenübergestellt (ib. 19,7). In *spir. et litt.* hält Augustin den Bezug auf das geistliche Verständnis der Schrift weiterhin für möglich, sieht aber in dem Vers den Grundzug paulinischer Theologie ausgedrückt. Dabei wird der Satz in einen Bedingungssatz umformuliert: Der Buchstabe tötet, wenn bzw. solange nicht der lebendigmachende Geist eine aus Liebe gewirkte Erfüllung des Gesetzes ermöglicht (cf. besonders ib. 8). In diesem Sinne kehrt

Evaluation of M. Hoondert

Authenticity of* sermo *378 reconsidered

This thematic overview urges us to modify Hoondert's evaluation in two ways. M. Hoondert addresses the question of the authenticity of Pentecost *sermo* 378. Although the latter is generally not disputed, Hoondert calls it into question because its theme differs too much from the other Pentecost sermons.[134] *Sermo* 378 is a short sermon, preached on the feast of Pentecost, which celebrates the coming of the Holy Spirit (quoting Rom 5, 5), arguing that it is better to call the gift of the H. Spirit an earnest (*arrha*, which you do not give back when the original promise, of which it was a guarantee, is fulfilled) than a pledge (*pignus*, which is given back when the original promise is fulfilled). Hoondert perceives several differences between this sermon and the six Pentecost sermons he studied.

Hoondert observes that *sermo* 378 mentions the 120 persons present in the cenacle, but does not add that 120 stands for 10 times 12, the number of the apostles, as Augustine does in *sermones* 267, 1 and 268, 1. *Sermo* 266, 2.4 however mentions the same number 120 without that specific explanation. Hoondert however does not consider this sermon in his analysis, despite Augustine clearly indicating that it is preached on the occasion of Pentecost (probably the vigil, *s.* 266, 2) and despite the fact the content of the sermon, the stress on the unity of languages, is clearly linked with the Pentecost sermons Hoondert discusses, and especially with *sermo* 269 (the different forms and aspects of baptism found in Acts: baptism – gift of Spirit – laying on of hands).[135]

Hoondert points out that Augustine differentiates earnest (*arrha*) from pledge (*pignus*) [2 Cor 1, 22] and talks about the journey towards heaven in *sermo* 378, and does not do this in the other Pentecost sermons. First of all, the other Pentecost sermons have unique themes, treated only once in that group. Secondly, the comparison with a business contract in *sermo* 378 resembles the marriage contract metaphor from *sermo* 268, 4.[136] Thirdly, Hoondert refers to other occurrences of *arrha – pignus* in Augustine's writings,[137] but overlooks the fact that this theme is also present in other *sermones* of Augustine.[138] The theme of the earthly voyage, travel, pilgrimage is also a frequent theme in Augustine's *sermones*.[139]

Hoondert remarks that *sermo* 378 identifies Christ's promise with the promise of eternal life, instead of with the coming of the Holy Spirit (as in *ss*. 267, 1; 271; 271B, 1). This is true for the second section of the sermon, but in the first part the sermon asserts that Christ sent the H. Spirit, that He after his ascension sent whom He had promised. Thus the H. Spirit was Christ's promise. It is true that Augustine shifts the promise further towards eternal life, but he then argues that the H. Spirit is the earnest of the promise of eternal life, indicating explicitly that the H. Spirit is an integral part of this promise.

While Hoondert stresses the differences (presence of *arrha* and earthly voyage, absence of the theme of unity and of the relation law-grace), we can only observe that not all

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2 Cor 3,6 im Pelagianischen Streit immer wieder, gerne in Kombination mit *Rm* 5,5 [so z.B. in *c. ep. Pel.* 4,11; *en. Ps*. 70,1,20; *s. Dolbeau* 15,2; cf. auch Stellen wie *ep*. 157,9; *gr. et lib. arb*. 23, *corrept*. 2]." V.H. Drecoll, *Gratia*, *cit*. (n. 126), cc. 229; 231-232.

134. M. Hoondert, *Les sermons de saint Augustin*, *cit*. (n. 3), pp. 306-308. For the acceptance of *s.* 378 as authentic, see the chronology addendum, and also V. Saxer, *L'année liturgique*, *cit*. (n. 2), p. 103, n. 1.

135. Hoondert limits his article to sermons with direct references to Pentecost, preached on the Sunday of Pentecost. *s.* 266, 2, which Hoondert considers as preached on the vigil of Pentecost, however has clear references to Pentecost, and Augustine moreover in that sermon indicates that the day of Pentecost already begun (which is also valid for a vigil).
For the rhetorical structure (*prooemium*, *propositio*, *narratio*, *argumentatio*, *peroratio* – pp. 111-114), a detail comment (pp. 114-138) and an analysis of the *modus proferrendi* (pp. 139-156) of *s*. 266, see L. Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi'*, *cit*. (n. 86). See also: A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37), pp. 280-281; 290-291

136. *s.* 378: *Omnes homines quando aliquod negotium inter se contrahunt, et pecuniarii negotii sponsione relaxantur, plerumque accipiunt arrham, uel dant: et arrha data fidem facit, etiam rem illam esse secuturam cuius arrha praecessit*. PL 39, c. 1673. *s*. 268, 4: *Matrimoniales tabulas lege: sponsum audi*. PL 38 c. 1233.

137. *Confessiones* 7, 21, 27; *Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum* 3, 4; *De spiritu et littera* 18, 31.

138. In *ss*. 23, 8-9 [Hill: 413, Rebillard: -, Gryson: 20/01/413]; 156, 16 [Hill: 419, Rebillard: October 417, Gryson: May 418, Partoens: 17/10/417 or May 418] Augustine prefers earnest instead of pledge to speak of the gift of the Holy Spirit, and argues this difference in the same way as in *s*. 378 (earnest remains as a part of the thing promised, but pledge is taken away when the promise is fulfilled). Rom 5, 5 also serves as basis in *s*. 23, 8-9. *Arrha* occurs in the *sermones* only in the combination with *pignus*, i.e. in *ss*. 23, 156, 378. *Pignus* on the contrary occurs independent of *arrha*, and specifically as *pignus spiritum*/*pignus Spiritus* (*Sancti*) (cf. 2 Cor 1, 22) in *ss*. 9, 6; 53A (Morin 11), 12; 112A (Caillau 2, 11), 7; 142, 9; 170, 10; 210, 7; 260A (Denis 8), 4; 305A (Denis 13), 9. See also Rom 5, 5 – charity as gift of the Holy Spirit – in *ss*. 34, 2; 105, 4-5; 128, 4; 145, 4. Cf. A. Bizzozero, *Il mistero pasquale*, *cit*. (n. 37), pp. 272-273. J.E. Rotelle (ed.), E. Hill (trans., notes), *Sermons III/10 (341-400), On Various Subjects* (The Works of Saint Augustine, A translation for the 21st Century; III/10), Hyde Park /New York, New City Press, 1995, p. 354.

139. The *peregrinatio*/*patria* metaphor is a very frequent theme throughout Augustine's *sermones*. A CAG-analysis e.g. shows that *peregrinatio*/*peregrinare* – and associated words – are mentioned 203 times in 138 unique places and *patria* 169 times in 99 places in Augustine's *sermones*, and the latter word is frequently mentioned in the context of the former words. See also: *ss*. 177, 3: the journey is not the final aim; 255, 1-2: rest comes after the journey; 299F (Lambot 9), 2: Christ is food for the exhausted travellers; 341 (Dolbeau 22), 11.19: the earthly church is pilgrimaging; 346, 1-2: pilgrimage through this life by faith; 346A (Caillau 2, 19), 1-8 and 114B (Dolbeau 5), 1-16: during this difficult pilgrimage one has to be rich in good works; 363, 3: life after baptism is a journey like the Jews in the dessert; 364B (Mai 12), 1-4: earthly life is a journey.
Moreover, Augustine deals in his *sermones* frequently with the theme of 'richness': earthly richness is not an obstacle to reach heaven, the *superbia* or *auaritia* it is linked with however is; one has to be rich in good works and strive after an inner richness.

so-called Pentecost themes are present in the six sermons he considers to be authentic Pentecost sermons. Additionally, there are also clear similarities: the specific indication that the sermon is preached at Pentecost, the citation of Rom 5, 5 and Acts 1, 4 in *sermo* 378. Moreover, we have indicated that there are clear parallels with *sermones* of Augustine outside these six *sermones*. Six *sermones* probably provide not a solid basis to refute – on the basis of elements of content – the authenticity of *sermo* 378, while also taking into account the difficulty of reaching conclusions concerning authenticity and chronology of Augustine's sermons based on content alone.

Clearly distinguished anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian sermones*?*

Hoondert subdivides the six Pentecost sermons into two groups, according to their primary theme. The group of *sermones* 267, 268, 269, 271 uses a number of images to give expression to the unity of the Church: one person who speaks many languages, the Holy Spirit constitutes the unity of the Church as the soul gives life to all body parts and their different functions, humanity is born from one human being. Moreover, the fiftieth day (7×7+1) represents the Holy Spirit (7×7) who unites us (1). The group of *sermones* 270 and 272B insist that the law can only be fulfilled through grace. Augustine gives expression to the relationship of similarities and differences between the Jewish law and grace by way of numerical symbolism and the kinship between the Jewish and Christian Pentecost. Hoondert suggests the first group has an anti-Donatist and the second group an anti-Pelagian tendency.

Hoondert refers in this context to Kunzelmann's dating of these *sermones*. While *sermo* 269 and *sermo* 271 contain references to historical data, which could validate placing them in the Donatist controversy, this is however not the case for *sermones* 267 and 268 from the one hand and *sermones* 270 and 272B on the other hand. The latter four sermons are dated by Kunzelmann on the basis of his analysis of their content. This dating method of Kunzelmann however is not undisputed. Moreover, using Kunzelmann's chronology based on a probable anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian content as an argument to conclude the content of these sermons as anti-Donatist or anti-Pelagian, runs the risk of circular reasoning. We however have to admit that, despite the fact that the theme of *digitus Dei* is not typically anti-Pelagian, Augustine's reflection on the law-Spirit relation in *sermones* 270 and 272B is parallel to his anti-Pelagian writings.

Again it is striking that Hoondert did not consider *sermo* 266, which is clearly the most outspoken anti-Donatist sermon, much more so than *sermones* 267, 268, 269, 271: Augustine explicitly tackles the Donatist sacramentology ('Christ and not the minister'), and their sacramentological interpretation of Ps 141, 5; 1 Cor 11, 29 together with the case of Judas in *sermo* 266.[140] While *sermones* 267, 268, 269, 271 indeed stress ecclesial unity (*ss.* 267, 2; 268, 1-4; 269, 1-4; 271 – and also in *s.* 266, 2) and react against breaking of the unity in schisms (*ss.* 269, 3; 271), claiming there is no Spirit outside the ecclesial unity (*ss.* 267, 4; 268, 2; 269, 2-4; 271), he indeed frequently launches reproaches against the Donatists. These four sermons do not explicitly call the Donatists by name, while Augustine is not afraid to do so in his *sermones*.[141]

Ecclesial unity is always a main concern, and is for example also present in the second group of Hoondert's Pentecost *sermones* (*ss*. 270, 6; 272B, 2; *s.* 270, 7 even compares the breaking of the fishing nets of Lk 5, 17 with the fact that there are schisms in the earthly church). As such, the emphasis on ecclesial unity rather unifies than distinguishes Hoondert's two groups of Pentecost *sermones*. *Vice versa*, *sermones* 267, 1-2; 269, 2 (and also *s*. 266, 2.4.6) name *gratia*, a feature indicated by Hoondert as typical for *sermones* 270, 272B. Both groups of *sermones* moreover share Augustine's love for exegesis of numbers (*ss.* 267, 1; 268, 1; 270, 3-6; 272B, 2; again also *s.* 266, 2). Both groups of *sermones* use the *uinum nouus* metaphor (*ss.* 266, 2; 267, 1-2; 272B, 1, cf. *s.* 272: Eucharistic wine is seen as an expression of ecclesial unity). When one looks at the similarities, the unity of these 6 (or 7) *sermones* is much bigger than when one only highlights some of the differences.

Conclusion

Our analysis enables us to answer the two research questions this article opened with. First, grace is present in the Pentecost *sermones*, but only prominently in a minority. *Sermones* 29, 29A and 29B refer to grace within

140. For the anti-Donatist polemics in *s.* 266, see: L. Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi', cit*. (n. 86), pp. 93-156.

141. There are ca. 40 *sermones* with an anti-Donatist intent: *ss.* 3, 4, 10, 33, 37, 45-47, 71, 88, 90, 129, 137, 138, 147A, 159B, 162A, 164, 182, 183, 197, 198, 202, 223, 252, 266, 269, 271, 275, 292, 293A, 295, 313E, 327, 340A, 357-359, 359B, 360, 360A, 360C, 400, in which the Donatists are named 45 times in 16 different *sermones*: *ss.* 33, 5; 46, 15.28; 71, 4; 88, 25; 138, 9-10; 162A (Denis 19), 8.12; 174A (Denis 12), 3; 182, 7; 183, 1.9-10.12; 198 (Dolbeau 26), 45.52; 202, 2; 252, 4-5; 296, 14-15; 313E (Guelf. 28), 2-; 359, 4; 360A (Dolbeau 24), 47. This is quite different from Augustine's mentioning of the Pelagians, which are only called by name in four *sermones*: *ss.* 163A, 3; 181, 2.7; 183, 1-12; 348A, 6-8, of the ca. 50 following *sermones* which are considered to contain anti-Pelagian elements: *ss.* 26, 30, 71, 72A, 100, 114, 115, 125(?), 125 A, 128, 131, 137, 143, 142(?), 144, 145(?),151-156, 154A, 158, 159, 160(?),163, 163A, 165, 166, 168, 169, 170, 174, 176, 181, 183, 193, 214(?), 250, 260D, 270, 272B, 283(?), 290, 293, 294, 299, 333, 335B, 348A, 351(?), 363, 365(?). See G. Partoens, *Le traitement du texte Paulinien dans les sermons 151-156*, in G. Partoens (ed.), *Sancti Aurelii Augustini. Sermones in epistolas apostolicas. Sermones CLI-CLVI*. Recensuit G. Partoens, Secundum praefationis caput conscripsit J. Lössl (Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina; 41Ba), Turnhout, Brepols, 2007, LVI-LXIV, LVI (n. 2).

the specific aim of these *sermones*, namely explaining *confessio*. This is the grace of the forgiving and assisting God. In *sermones* 272 and 272A the topic of grace is implicitly present as the basis of humility and of the Eucharist, the topics Augustine preached about. *Sermones* 266-269 and 271 stress ecclesial unity, and again grace is implicitly present between the lines: grace as the core of baptism and apostolic preaching. In the *sermones* 270 and 272B, on the contrary, the topic of grace is dealt with in an outspoken and explicit way, very similar to the treatment of grace in the anti-Pelagian writings (although the theme of *digitus Dei* has proven to be not an anti-Pelagian *topos*).

Secondly, although we sought a perception of a greater continuity regarding content in the *corpus* of *sermones* 267-271 and 272B (and even advocated the inclusion of *sermones* 266 and 378), we can distinguish anti-Donatist and anti-Pelagian elements in this group of *sermones*. The anti-Pelagian influence on *sermones* 270 and 272B is much stronger than the anti-Donatist thematisation in *sermones* 267-269 and 271. The strongest example of anti-Donatist influence is *sermo* 266, which is not considered in Hoondert's study.

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Addendum I

Bibliography: Studies on Augustine's Pentecost Sermons and Pentecost Theology

Augustine's Pentecost sermons

V. Saxer has made an analysis of seven Pentecost homilies (*ss*. 266-271, 272B, 378) and drawn some conclusions with respect to their date, localisation and the scriptural texts cited therein. G. C. Willis has also made a study of Augustine's *lectionarium* for Pentecost. Both scholars agree that Acts 2, 13 and Mt 9, 17 were among the readings used for the feast of Pentecost. According to M. Hoondert, Saxer and Willis were too hasty and without appropriate argument in drawing their conclusions. Augustine makes no explicit reference to the Scriptures in his Pentecost sermons, thus rendering his liturgical use of the Scriptures impossible to reconstruct. The link between Acts 2, 13 and Mt 9, 17, moreover, upon which Saxer and Willis based their hypothesis, is also made in other writings and homilies. M. Margoni-Kögler gives, on the basis of explicit and implicit references, an overview of scriptural readings on the feast of Pentecost: vigil: Ps 140 (*ss*. 266, 1; 29, 3), Ps 117 [1b] (*ss*. Dolb. 8 [=29b], 1; 29, 1); Sunday (in Hippo): *mane* Tob 2, 1f.[-?] (*s*. Dolb. 31 [=Mai 158augm.], 2, Acts 2, 1-15[?] (*ss*. 267, 2; 378), Mt 9, [14?]17 (*s*. 267, 2). G. Ferraro studied Augustine's use of Scripture concerning the Holy Spirit in the *sermones*.

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Addendum II

Localisation and Chronology of Pentecost sermons

s. *29*

Carthage, basilica Tricilarum (Hill, Verbraken, Rebillard, Gryson).

Kunzelmann: Pentecost vigil; Verbraken: "vigile de Pentecôte. 23 mai 397 (Lambot 1935[2] et 1961[32]), 25 mai 418 (Lambot 1947[8]); vraisemblablement 397 (Beuron); 25 mai 418 (Perler[3]); vraisemblablement 26 mai 418 (Zwinggi[3])"; Hill: 419; Rebillard: 397; Gryson: Pentecost vigil (25/05) 418.

See also: A. Dupont, *Sermones 29 and 29A on Ps. 117, 1 (118, 1)*.

s. *29A*

= *s.* Denis 9.

Carthage (Rebillard). Probably Carthage (Gryson, Verbraken: "Lambot[0], Perler[3], Zwinggi[3]").

Verbraken: "vraisemblablement vigile de Pentecôte [23 mai] 397 (Lambot[14], Perler[3], Zwinggi[3])"; Hill: 397 or earlier; Rebillard: 397; Gryson: Pentecost vigil (23/05) 397.

See also: A. Dupont, *Sermones 29 and 29A on Ps. 117, 1 (118, 1)*.

s. *29B*

= *s.* Dolbeau 8.

Carthage (Hill, Rebillard; Gryson).

Hill: Pentecost vigil 397; Rebillard: 23/05/397; Hombert: 403-408, perhaps 407-408; Gryson: Pentecost vigil, 403/408, same vigil in which Augustine held *s.* 266.

H. R. Drobner criticizes the dating of *s.* 29B by Cyrille Lambot, followed by François Dolbeau, as belonging to a group of sermons held shortly after Augustine's bishops ordination between May and August 397. Drobner concludes:

> Es handelt sich daher m.E. bei der vorliegenden Predigt zur Pfingstvigil um ein Spätwerk Augustins, ohne weiteres des Jahres 418, die in der Tat "weniger originell" ist, wie François Dolbeau urteilt, weil sie zum größten Teil aus Gedanken besteht, die Augustinus bereits mehrfach an anderer Stelle geäußert hat.

F. Dolbeau, *Sermons inédits de S. Augustin dans un manuscrit de Mayence (Stadtbibliothek, I, 9)*, in *RÉAug*, 36, 1990, pp. 355-359. H.R. Drobner, *Augustinus, Sermo in vigilia pentecostes – aus den in Mainz neuentdeckten Predigten. Datierung und deutsche Übersetzung*, in *Theologie und Glaube*, 83, 1993, pp. 446-454, p. 448. C. Lambot, *Un « ieiunium quinquagesimae » en Afrique au IV^e^ s. et date de quelques sermons de S. Augustin*, in *Revue bénédictine*, 47, 1935, pp. 114-124, esp. pp. 118-119: situating *s.* 29 in 397. Cf. M. Klöckener, *Die Bedeutung der neu entdeckten Augustinus-Predigten (Sermones Dolbeau) für die liturgiegeschichtliche Forschung*, in G. Madec (éd.), *Augustin prédicateur (395-411). Actes du Colloque international de Chantilly (5-6 septembre 1996)* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 159), Paris, 1998, pp. 129-170, p. 141.

s. *266*

Carthage (Verbraken, Gryson).

Kunzelmann: Pentecost vigil 403/408; Verbraken: "vigile de Pentecôte. Avant 405 (Monceaux); 28 mai 410 (Kunzelmann); après le 22 mai (De Bruyne[1]); 23 mai 397 (Lambot[2], Perler[3]); 410 ou 397? (Beuron); vraisemblablement 23 mai 397 (Zwinggi[3])"; Hill: Pentecost vigil 397; Rebillard: Pentecost vigil 23/05/397; Hombert: 403-408; Gryson: Pentecost vigil, Mechlinsky: 405.

L. Mechlinsky, *Der 'modus proferendi' in Augustins 'sermones ad populum'* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Neue Folge; Reihe 1. Band 23), Paderborn / München / Wien / Zürich, Ferdinand Schöningh, 2004, pp. 93-97; pp. 256-257.

s. *267*

Kunzelmann: Pentecost 02/06/412; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Dimanche 2 juin 412 (Kunzelmann); 412 (Beuron)"; Hill: Pentecost 412; Rebillard: Pentecost 412; Gryson: Pentecost 412.

s. *268*

Kunzelmann: Pentecost 405-410; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Avant 405 (Monceaux); 405-410 (Kunzelmann, Beuron)"; Hill: Pentecost 405; Rebillard: Pentecost 405-411; Gryson: Pentecost 405-410.

s. *269*

Carthage? (Verbraken: "Perler[3]", Hill, Rebillard, Gryson).

Kunzelmann: Pentecost 14/06/411; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Avant 405 (Monceaux); dimanche 14 mai 411 (Kunzelmann); sans doute 411 (Mohrmann[2]);

dimanche 14 mai 411 (la Bonnardière[9], Perler[3]); 411 (Beuron)"; Hill: Pentecost 411; Rebillard: Pentecost 411; Gryson: Pentecost 405/410.

s. *270*

Kunzelmann: Pentecost ca. 416; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Vers 416 (Kunzelmann, Beuron); 416? (la Bonnardière[20])"; Hill: Pentecost 416; Rebillard: Pentecost 416?; Gryson: Pentecost 416?

s. *271*

Kunzelmann: Pentecost 393-405; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Avant 405 (Monceaux); 393-405 (Kunzelmann, Beuron)"; Hill: Pentecost 399; Rebillard: Pentecost 393-405; Gryson: Pentecost 393-405.

s. *272*

Hippo (Hill).

Kunzelmann: Easter 405-411; Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte (Mauristes); jour de Pâques (Wilmart[3]); jour de Pâques 405-411 (Kunzelmann); vigile de Pentecôte (Mohrmann[2]); jour de Pâques (Lambot[26]), jour de Pâques ou de Pentecôte (Perler[2]); jour de Pâques (Poque[2]); 405-411 (Beuron); jour de Pâques (Schnitzler, Zwinggi[5]); 405-411 (Bori)"; Hill: Pentecost 408; Rebillard: Pentecost 405-411; Gryson: Easter 405-411.

s. *272A*

= *s.* fragmenta a P.-P. Verbraken edita 38.

Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte"; Hill: Pentecost; Rebillard: Pentecost; Gryson: Pentecost.

s. *272B*

= *s.* Mai 158.

Hippo, memoria Theogenis (Verbraken, Hill).

Verbraken: "jour de Pentecôte. Dimanche 10 juin 417 (Kunzelmann); vraisemblablement l'après-midi (Perler[2]); 10 juin 417, le matin (la Bonnardière[7]); en 417 (Beuron); le matin (Zwinggi[6]); 417 (Bori)"; Hill: Pentecost 417; Rebillard: Pentecost 10/06/417; Gryson: Pentecost around 413-415.

Sermo 272B (= *Sermo* Mai 158) is traditionally dated as June 10 417 (Kunzelmann, Verbraken). Kunzelmann argues on the basis of the opposition between *lex* and *gratia* to situate the sermon in the Pelagian controversy in 417. Dolbeau asserts that there is nothing that justifies the specification of 417, while he accepts the context of the Pelagian controversy. He argues for an earlier date in this controversy, indicating that Augustine's use of Rom 7, 24 (which according to this sermon still refers to the man under the law and not to Paul), and the parallel use of Rom 5, 5; 13, 10; Lk 11, 20; 2 Cor 3, 3 with *De spiritu et littera* (16, 28-26, 46) of 412 to date the sermon around 412-415. He also suspects the sermon was held on the Sunday of Pentecost in the afternoon, independent from a liturgical celebration, since he does not find references to a gospel being read. Because of the complexity of the topic treated, Dolbeau suspects a limited and learned audience and he thinks it is rather a conference or spiritual talk than a real sermon. F. Dolbeau, *Finale inédite d'un sermon d'Augustin (S. Mai 158), extraite d'un homéliaire d'Olomouc*, in *RÉAug*, 44, 1998, pp. 181-203, pp. 190-192. (Reprinted in Id., *Augustin et la prédication en Afrique. Recherches sur divers sermons authentiques, apocryphes ou anonymes* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité, 179), Paris, Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2005, pp. 241-267.)

s. *378*

Verbraken : "jour de Pentecôte", "authenticitée : douteuse (Mauristes), affirmée (Wilmart[3], Morin), acceptée (Lambot[0], la Bonnardière[1], Perler[3], Bouhot)"; Hill: Pentecost 420; Rebillard: Pentecost; Gryson: authentic, but can not be dated.

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ADDENDUM III

Overview of *Pentecostes* in Augustine's writings

Via CAG: used ca. 74 times, mentioned in ca. 61 different places.

De sermone domini in monte 1, 12: Pentecost: fifty days, 7 times 7 and a Sunday (the eighth day: the day of the resurrection) added, day on which the Holy Spirit is sent by Christ.

De sermone domini in monte 2, 57: Quote "permanebo autem Ephesi usque ad pentecosten" (1 Cor 16, 8), without elaboration on Pentecost.

Contra epistulam Manichaei quam uocant fundamenti 9, 10: Augustine answers the Manichean question when the Paraclete came by quoting Acts 1, 1-8; 2, 1-13: the Holy Spirit – as promised by Christ – came on Pentecost, as is testified in the Acts of the Apostles which have the same authority as the gospel.

De agone christiano 30: Against heresies which claim that the Paraclete came in the person of Paul, Montanus, Priscilla or Mani. The Holy Spirit came on the tenth day after Ascension, on Pentecost, on the apostles as is described in Acts 2, 1-11.

De doctrina christiana 2, 25: Understanding of metaphorical signs, as e.g. the numbers forty (precept of forty days of fastening, as Moses, Elijah and Christ: four (indicating the daily and yearly cycles) times ten (knowledge of the creator and creature) and fifty (feast of Pentecost). Moreover, three (three ages: before the law, under the law, under grace) times fifty (Pentecost) and three (Trinity) is one hundred and fifty three, the number of fishes (cf. Jn 21, 11), which symbolise the purified Church.

Contra Faustum Manicheum 22, 87: Pentecost, according to Tobit 2, 1 (feast of seven weeks), is celebrated on the fiftieth day: seven times seven (seven signifies the Holy Spirit, who came down on Pentecost) and added one (signifying unity, cf. Eph 4, 2-3). By this sevenfold gift of the Spirit the Church became the well of sufficiency (cf. Sg 4, 5; Jn 4, 13-14).

Contra Faustum Manicheum 32, 3: Faustus argues that Catholics accept the Old Testament but not the precepts of the Old Testament: they observe the feast of Pentecost, but not offerings and sacrifices that accompany this feast.

Contra Faustum Manicheum 32, 12: cf. article.

Contra Faustum Manicheum 32, 15: Augustine indicates that the Manicheans refuse to accept that the Paraclete is sent to the Apostles on Pentecost as is written in Acts. They received him and spoke every language, prefiguring that the Church would contain all languages, i.e. all nations.

Contra Felicem Manicheum 1, 4-5: Augustine answers Felix' question to prove that Christ sent the Holy Spirit as promised in the gospel of John (Jn 16, 13) by quoting Acts 1, 1-26 and 2, 1-11: Christ sent the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.

De trinitate 1, 7: Unity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who operate differently. Not the Son or the Father, but the Spirit alone came down on the day of Pentecost.

De trinitate 2, 10: Quote of Acts 2, 2. Remaining invisible – equal to Father and Son – the Spirit was sent in a 'created guise', 'as a dove' (Mt 3, 16) and 'sound as a violent gust' and 'tongues as of fire' on Pentecost (Acts 2, 2).

De trinitate 3, 27: The Son in his incarnated form and the Spirit as dove or as tongues of fire and a sound on Pentecost: what appeared to the bodily senses of mortals was not the substance of Son and Spirit.

De trinitate 15, 46: Christ gave the Spirit twice (on earth (before Ascension) and from heaven (on Pentecost, ten days after Ascension), because according to the charity which is given by this Spirit God (from heaven) and the neighbour (on earth) are to be loved – the two commandments on which the whole law and the prophets depend. The Spirit is given twice, but it is the same Spirit. Not the disciples, nor the bishops, can give the Spirit (they pray that He might come upon those whom they lay their hands), but only God. This was what Simon did not understand (Acts 8, 18). Christ himself received this Spirit as man at his baptism, and as God He gives this Spirit.

De consensu euangelistarum 3, 4: Two gifts of the Holy Spirit: those who already received the Spirit after the resurrection in John 20, 22 obtain at Pentecost a fuller gift of the same Spirit.

Contra litteras Petiliani 2, 76: Two gifts of the Holy Spirit: the same Spirit is given by Christ after his Resurrection before Ascension (Jn 20, 22) and on Pentecost (Acts 1, 5).

Ad Cresconium grammaticum partis Donati 2, 17: Only after his glorification (Jn 7, 39) Christ could send the Spirit on Pentecost (Acts 1, 5). As a *signum* the Spirit gave the disciples the ability to speak the languages of all peoples, expressing that the Church would include all nations and that nobody receives the Spirit outside this ecclesial unity.

Ad Cresconium grammaticum partis Donati 4, 64: From Jerusalem all the nations of the universal world are evangelised. In Jerusalem Christ suffered, was resurrected, ascended to heaven and there he filled 120 men with the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost.

Quaestionum libri septem = Quaestiones in Heptateuchum 5, 25: seven weeks between the

Jewish sacrifice of the lamb and the giving of the law on the Mount Sinai (7 times 7 = 49), with one day added (symbol of unity): 50th day of Christian Pentecost.

Ad catholicos fratres 29: The testimony of the apostles regarding Pentecost : quote of Acts 1, 8-15 ; 2, 1-14 ; 2, 37-41. That the Church would expand to all nations is announced by the apostles speaking all languages after receiving the Holy Spirit.

Speculum 31: Quote "permanebo autem Ephesi usque ad pentecosten" (1 Cor 16, 8), without elaboration on Pentecost.

De praedestinatione sanctorum liber ad Prosperum et Hilarium 40: Quote "permanebo autem Ephesi usque ad pentecosten" (1 Cor 16, 8), without elaboration on Pentecost.

Epistula 36, 18: A sacrifice of praise (Ps 50, 14) does not signify fastening, since fastening is not practiced on certain days but a sacrifice of praise is offered on all days by the Church, otherwise the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, during which one does not fast, would be without any sacrifice of praise.

Epistula 55, 28-32: cf. article.

Epistula 199, 23: On Pentecost Christ sent the Spirit He promised. That the disciples were speaking in languages they had not learnt, did lead some to suspect that they were drunk, which was denied by Peter (Acts 2, 15-17).

Epistula 265, 2-3: When Peter denied Christ, he had not yet received the Holy Spirit, which was given by the Lord after his resurrection (Jn 20, 22) and on Pentecost. He was already baptized, but not by the Holy Spirit (Acts 1, 5). (Cornelius and his household were baptized after having received the Spirit.)

Epistula 268, 2: Augustine mentioned he preached to his community on the feast of Pentecost.

In Iohannis euangelium tractatus 6, 3: Christ, when He sent the Holy Spirit, revealed the Spirit visibly in two ways: dove (coming down on the Lord at his baptism) and fire (on the disciples on Pentecost, as promised, after Christ's ascension): as signs of the simplicity/unity and fervour. The different tongues however do not signify schism, as is expressed by the unity of the dove.

In Iohannis euangelium tractatus 6, 18: Pentecost is mentioned as one of the things described in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, also mentioned are that the people of Samaria are baptised by Philip and afterwards Peter and John laid hands upon them so they received the Holy Spirit.

In Iohannis euangelium tractatus 32, 6-7: Christ waited to give his Spirit after he had been glorified, the first time after the glorification of his resurrection and the second time on Pentecost after the glorification of his ascension. Also today the Spirit is received, nobody however speaks all languages, since now the Church contains all languages (and of this body of Christ all baptised are member). Augustine stresses the unity of the Church.

In Iohannis euangelium tractatus 92, 1: Comment on Jn 15, 26-27: on the coming of the Paraclete, who will give testimony. On Pentecost the Holy Spirit came down to 120 disciples, who by their testimony converted Jews who received at that moment forgiveness for spilling the blood of Christ.

In epistulam Iohannis ad Parthos 6, 11: The disciples were already baptised, but only received the Spirit on Pentecost, after Christ's glorification. Schismatics and heretics cannot have this Spirit.

Enarratio in Psalmum 45, 8: Ps 45, 5 refers to the river of the Holy Spirit. After the Lord was glorified in his resurrection and ascension He sent the Holy Spirit, who filled the believers, made them speak in tongues and they began to preach the gospel to the Gentiles.

Enarratio in Psalmum 90, 2, 8: cf. article.

Enarratio in Psalmum 132, 2: The Holy Spirit was sent by Christ as promised, after his ascension, on 120 disciples gathered in one place (Acts 1, 15; 2, 1-4). Augustine stresses unity.

Enarratio in Psalmum 138, 8: Christ sent the Holy Spirit to the disciples, making them speak in all tongues, converting the Jews who crucified Christ.

Sermo 8, 17: cf. article.

Sermo 29: cf. article.

Sermo 71, 19: On blasphemy against the Spirit. The disciples were baptized by the Holy Spirit on Pentecost (Acts 1, 5; 2, 3). This gift of the Holy Spirit is forgiveness of sins and charity. The Holy Spirit gathers the people of God in unity.

Sermo 227: On Easter, to the *infantes*, on the sacraments of Eucharist and baptism. The Eucharistic cup and bread express unity. This bread is baked by the fire of the Holy Spirit, which comes at Pentecost, and breathes into the faithful the charity which sets them on fire of God and burns up their love for the world.

Sermo 228, 1: On Easter, to the *infantes*, on the sacraments of Eucharist and baptism. The period after Easter until Pentecost (when the Holy Spirit is sent as promised) is a period of feast days, during which *alleluia* is sung.

Sermo 259, 2: Sunday after Easter. Pentecost, on the fiftieth day: seven times seven (seventh day) and one added (like the eighth day is at the same day the first day: going back to the beginning) or forty and ten added. Three times fifty and three added (three as indicating Trinity) is one hundred fifty-three, the number of fishes indicating the Church.

Sermo 265, 8-9: On the feast of Ascension. Christ is glorified two times (resurrection and ascension) and gives the Spirit two times (Jn 20, 22; Acts 1, 8) after this double glorification (Jn 7, 39). The second gift of the Spirit was on Pentecost. The one Spirit (one charity) was given twice to impress the two commandments of charity: love for God (second gift of Spirit, from heaven) and love for neighbour (first gift of Spirit, on earth) (Mt 22, 37-40).

Sermo 266, 2: cf. article.

Sermo 270, 6: cf. article.

Sermo 357, 5: Augustine mentions the solemn fast after Pentecost.

Sermo Dolbeau 8 = *sermo* 29B: : cf. article.

Sermo Mai 26, 2 = *sermo* 60A: The preaching to the Gentiles begun after Christ's passion and resurrection. Christ himself came for the lost sheep of Israel. The apostles and the hundred twenty on whom the Holy Spirit came on Pentecost (promised by the Lord, Jn 15, 26) were Jews. Augustine argues that among the elect there are also Jews.

Sermo Mai 86, 3 = *sermo* 229I: On the Wednesday after Easter: On Pentecost the Holy Spirit filled the disciples, making them to speak all tongues (one person speaking all languages indicating that the unity of the Church would contain all nations). This miracle 'pricked to the heart' of the Jews who killed Jesus (Acts 2, 37.41).

Sermo Mai 94, 6 = *sermo* 260C: On the Sunday after Easter: on the meaning of the eighth day, on the meaning of the number eight. Pentecost: after seven weeks (seven times seven: 49) the eighth day is added, to come to the number fifty.

Sermo Mai 158, 1-4.6-7 = *sermo* 272B: cf. article.